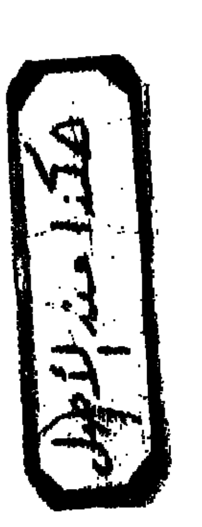
The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Trading powers try to hammer out a policy

America, the EEC and Japan, the world's three major trading powers and industrial zones, neither want nor can afford a trade war.

World affairs and the international economic situation are in such a difficult position that trade wars would, in the final analysis, be to the detriment of all.

This view is increasingly gaining currency in Washington, Tokyo, Brussels and the Common Market capitals.

At the Brussels conference of 16 Nato Foreign Ministers it was also agreed not to wage trade war on the East but to seek instead a new concept in economic relations.

Details are to be worked out by mid-1983 at the latest.

At the time of writing US Secretary of State George Shultz was still on a two-week tour of Europe. It could mark the beginning of a new and better era in transatlantic ties.

Relations between America and Europe have been tensed and troubled over the past few months, especially because of the long and pointless dispute over the Soviet gas pipeline contract.

See page 6 for articles on EEC agricultural policy and financial problems

President Reagan did not yield until Western Europe proved absolutely adamant, then waived US sanctions on a number of companies in EEC countries that chose to abide by contracts with the Soviet Union.

On his visit to Brussels Mr Shultz played the part of an intermediary both at Nato and at the head of a high-grade US government delegation to the EEC Commission that discussed agricultural and trading problems.

It was largely due to his level-headed approach that fresh disputes were avoided.

Nato Foreign Ministers demonstrated (or at least made a show of) more unity and determination than for a long while.

An outstretched hand is being held out to the new Soviet leadership; in other words, Nato is waiting to see how the Kremlin will react.

It then hopes to make progress and to achieve results as soon as possible in the major rounds of international negotiations in Vienna, Madrid and, above all, Geneva (both disarmament and arms control talks).

But united and determined action can only achieve results provided fresh conflicts within the West are avoided and outstanding problems are solved.

Current reviews of economic and trade ties with the East by a variety of bodies are to be accelerated. They include Nato, the OECD and Cocom, the committee that vets exports of advanced technology and militarily relevant goods to the Eastern bloc.

France is collaborating, although it prefers to keep its distance from Washington. *A detailed concept is to be* drawn up in time for the next Western economic summit, to be held in the United States at the end of May.

By the end of March the European Community and the United States aim to arrive at a compromise on agricultural policy.

After a lengthy dispute agreement was reached last October between Brussels and Washingron on Common Market steel exports to the United States.

A further clash now seems imminent in agriculture. All that was achieved at the Gatt Geneva round was universally unsatisfactory results.

Representatives of the 88 Gatt member-countries failed to arrive at a solution of the world's agricultural trading problems.

Washington now plans first to clarify matters with the European Community on this score.

Differences of opinion between them are longstanding. The EEC's Common Agricultural Policy never suited Washington.

US attacks have always been levelled primarily at the system of EEC farm price subsidies in general and the billions paid by the EEC to subsidise Common Market agricultural exports in particular.

These subsidies are essential. Without them, EEC farm produce would be unable to compete in world markets, where *prices are lower than in the European* Community.

Washington has lately intensified its complaints to the EEC, mainly because US farmers are feeling the pinch, having been hit by the worst crisis in 50 years.

They are no longer prepared to stand for Common Market farmers challenging them for control of major export markets in many parts of the world.

The EEC has argued in return that the US government does not exactly skimp with subsidies for American farmers, but that holds no ice with Washington.

The Reagan administration sees only two solutions. Either it too must subsidise US *farm exports to the hilt or the* EEC must end its agricultural export subsidies.

In Brussels the US Agriculture Secretary, John Block, said the simplest solution would be for the EEC to adjust its high price guarantees to world market prices.

In other words the EEC must gradually reduce its farm price guarantees, which was an idea put forward by the Common Market Commission in Brussels two years ago.

But no such ideas have yet stood the slightest chance of being approved by the Council of Ministers, on which the Agriculture Ministers of the EEC 10 sit and decide matters.

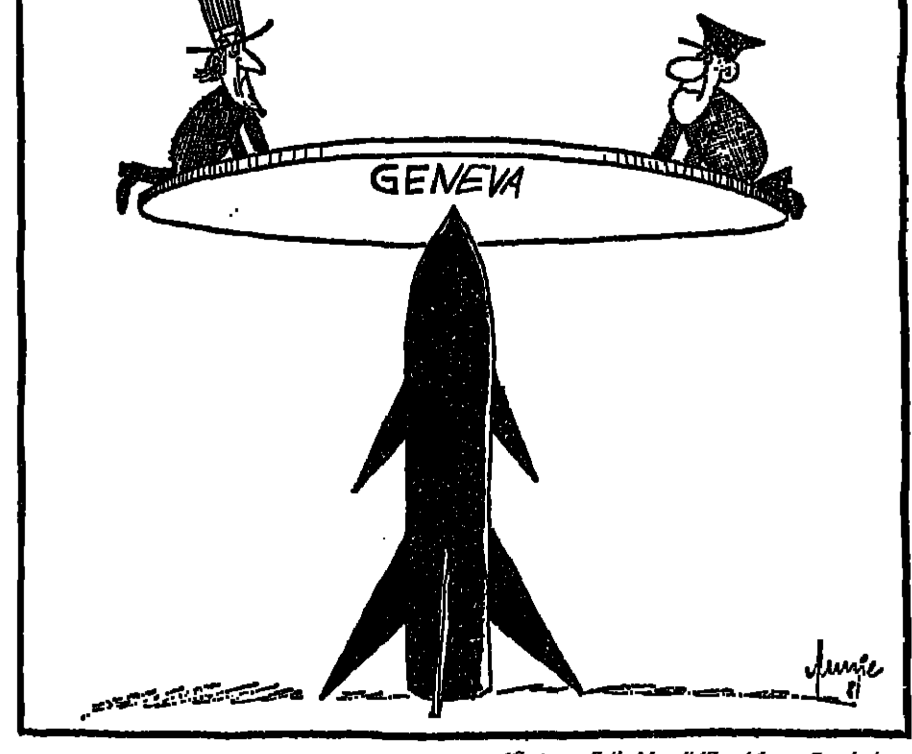
EEC farm price guarantees remain the main feature of the system by which farmers' earnings are safeguarded in the European Community.

In 1982 the Common Market's Agriculture Ministers decided on an average increase of 10.5 per cent in EEC farm price guarantees.

For 1983 price increases of five per cent or so are planned, but that in no way meets US demands. Neither does the EEC's declared intention of ending

Continued on page 2

The last edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE carried the wrong date and edition number because of a technical error. It should have read No. 1065, 26 December 1982. We apologise.



(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Assessing what Mr Andropov has offered

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Someone who makes disarmament proposals is clearly interested in negotiations and in a result he can show *for his pains.*

That alone is what makes the offer by Soviet leader Yuri Andropov so welcome, even though his terms cannot be endorsed in their entirety.

His proposals also indicate that the determination shown by the West to abide by the terms of the Nato missiles-and-talks resolution has been borne in mind by the Soviet leadership.

So it seems reasonable to think that the Soviet Union will be realistic, just as *it was in 1980 when it abandoned its* original threat to end negotiations entirely if Nato were to adopt the twofold resolution.

It looks as though the Kremlin is seriously trying to forestall the stationing of *medium-range US missiles in Europe.*

The offer of disarmament terms also shows, however, that Moscow continues to pursue the political and strategic target that lay behind the SS-20 program*me from the outset.*

Nato is to be split into two zones that will differ in the degree in which they are threatened.

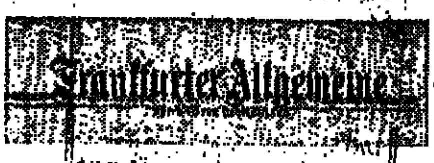
One will be the intercontinental sec-

Continued on page 3

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Missiles issue will mean crucial time for Nato



The new year will be a trial of strength for the Atlantic alliance, the issue at stake being Nato's missiles-and-talks resolution.

If America and Russia fail to arrive at a mutually satisfactory agreement in Geneva the disarmament talks will have been a failure.

The West must then start next autumn to station Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Europe.

Talks until summer, then action. That is the timetable. It is seen as settled, but will it go ahead according to schedule?

The state of the North Atlantic pact gives cause for scepticism, while Soviet Westpolitik may be good for a number of surprises. The missile modernisation debate over the past three years has revealed alarming weaknesses in Nato.

Tension within and between member-countries is not the Russians' handiwork; it is home-made, inherent in the democratic system and a natural reflex of an open society.

But the Soviet leaders have managed to harness Atlantic difficulties to their own political bandwaggon.

It would be wrong to refer to a Red masterplan, but the Soviet Union intervenes in Western politics whenever the opportunity arises.

The first context in which it does so is detente, on which Europe and America work on different assumptions arising from different strategic viewpoints.

In Europe the Soviet Union is seen as a neighbour. This is a fact which, as many European governments see it, calls for political rapprochement.

Detente is intended to have a stabilising effect on East-West ties. It covers Europe only, from the Pyrenees to the Urals, and is not seen as a bid to contain Soviet imperialism worldwide.

The United States takes a different view. For Washington detente has always been part of a concept covering the entire world.

America has been as concerned about Afghanistan, Angola and unrest in Ethiopia as it has been about Poland.

Linkage between Soviet good behaviour in Europe and a Soviet policy of moderation elsewhere remains the sine qua non of a successful strategy to maintain the state of non-war as Washington sees it.

America and Europe are no nearer reconciling their respective positions, and the Soviet Union is putting this discrepancy to good use.

Another context is that the USA advocates close ties between the Europeans whereas the USSR is afraid of European integration.

So Soviet Westpolitik amounts to a constant offensive against this integration. The Russians play off against each other the national pride and the conflicts of interest of the industrialised countries.

The Russians' struggle is also a covert struggle against the Americans, but primarly, superficially, it is aimed at America's partners.

A truly integrated Europe would probably long since have stationed Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles on European soil.

On no account must it be allowed to do so, as Russia sees it, because Europe would thereby be able to resist Soviet military pressure with convincing counter-pressure of its own.

But this Russian Westpolitik has its price. A strong Europe might also, as Moscow sees it, emerge as a partner of America's that was capable of acting independently and with self-assurance.

In this way it might well be able to reduce US influence on Europe, including Eastern Europe.

What the Soviet Westpolitik is here unable to put to collective use it tries to accomplish bit by bit.

After the Americans the Germans are the most dangerous opposite number as far as Moscow is concerned. So Bonn must be treated in such a way as to ensure that it is not thrown unconditionally back on the United States.

Yet at times the Kremlin is also interested in closer ties between Bonn and Washington. The West Germans can be used to warn the Americans not to burden East-West ties with fresh armaments.

Any such bid by Bonn is invariably undertaken at Nato unity's expense. Helmut Schmidt took on this broker's role more than once, failing to realise the Soviet intentions.

The final context is that of East-West trade. The Russians are keenly interested in buying high-grade technology from the West, and the Europeans would gladly sell it to them.

Germany's trade with the East bloc may account for only three per cent of exports, but it provides employment for several hundred thousand people.

Despite their own grain shipments to the Soviet Union the Americans view trade with the East as an unfriendly act on their partners' part.

They argue that trade with the East strengthens the other side economically.

This open or covert tension in the West must be seen alongside the fear of nuclear war felt by people in the free world.

Psychostrategically in particular, in influence wielded on public opinion, the West is trailing, and the political consequences grow more tangible with every passing day.

Adelbert Weinstein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 December 1982)

Trade war

Continued from page 1

agricultural surplus production in the Common Market.

The EEC will continue to have to keep its eyes open for outside markets and will continue to be an unwelcome competitor from the viewpoint of US farmers.

There is no immediate prospect of a compromise acceptable to both sides being arrived at in the expert talks to be held by the EEC and the USA between January and March.

If peace is to reign on both the political and economic fronts both the European Community and the United States will need to arrive at compromise solutions with Japan.

Japanese export offensives in America and Western Europe have long upset the West. Bonn remains keen to launch EEC export drives instead, whereas Paris has taken a step in the other direction.

Disputes within the EEC on trade policy toward other countries is the last thing the European Community can afford, so heavily does it rely on exports.

Battening down the hatches, going in for more and more protectionism, would in the final analysis lead straight to what everyone wants to avoid: economic and trade warfare.

It is up to the Bonn government to exert a positive influence on the course of events during its chairmanship of the EEC from January to June.

But it can only do so if the other EEC countries play ball.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 17 December 1982)

Madrid: round a table of frustrations

The second Helsinki review conference in Madrid has turned out to be a long drawn-out affair. It has already lasted over 100 days longer than the Congress of Vienna.

So far it has made no headway whatever. East and West have clashed swords to no avail at the conference table.

Yet as the conference adjourns for its Christmas recess no-one can see a meaningful alternative to the frustrating accusations of guilt levelled at each other by the superpowers.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is still the only forum at which East, West, neutrals and non-aligned can talk about human rights and prospects of cooperation.

If everything in the West went ahead as the Americans would like to see it, the delegations representing 35 countries would long since have packed their bags.

But France remains keen on the project of a Conference on Disarmament in Europe, while Bonn even under the new coalition government remains interested in talks with the Warsaw Pact on confidence-building measures.

The disarmament conference will not deal with disarmament as such but with information about manoeuvres and troop movements.

European Nato countries currently rely on US satellite photos to keep an eye on Warsaw Pact forces, and they are not always available.

There has been no change in the European view that the Soviet Union is not interested in getting down to disarmament merely for propaganda reasons but is genuinely keen to disarm.

The West may have stepped up its demands in response to developments in Poland (including the right to strike and trade union freedom in the final document) but there has been no further deterioration in the atmosphere.

Observers in Madrid are waiting to see what progress is made at the medium-range missile talks in Geneva. In Geneva observers are waiting to see who wins the German general elections.

So the Madrid conference seems sure to go into an Easter recess.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 December 1982)

Soviets accuse over talks ultimatum

Soviet warnings that the G[...] talks on medium-range missile[...] be broken off if the West goes a[...] with missile modernisation a[...] "clear bid to undermine the [...] missiles-and-talks resolution," sa[...] Bonn Foreign Office spokesman.

A spokesman for the Bonn De[...] Ministry said the Soviet statement [...] "political threat aimed at We[...] Europe."

In an interview with *Südde[...] Zeitung*, Munich, Valentin Falin o[...] CPSU central committee said it w[...] be impossible to carry on negotia[...] Nato were to start stationing me[...] range missiles in Europe next autu[...]

Such statements are viewed in [...] as part of a wide-ranging Soviet p[...] ganda campaign. They have in m[...] changed Defence Minister W[...] mind, the spokesman said.

Bonn continues to advocate the [...] option, which is for the West to [...] medium-range missiles provided [...] cow scraps its SS-20s aimed at targ[...] Europe.

Pravda commented that those [...] clung to the zero option were dete[...] ed not to reach agreement in Ge[...] What they wanted was to statio[...] proposed 108 Pershing 2s and 464 [...] se missiles in Western Europe.

It repeated the old Soviet pro[...] for Western and Soviet stock[...] medium-range missiles in Europe [...] reduced to a third.

Russia includes in these figures [...] forward-based US systems and th[...] tish and French nuclear deterrents.

According to British newspape[...] ports the Americans want Whiteh[...] bring forward from June to Apr[...] deadline for completion of faciliti[...] the Cruise missiles that are to be [...] in Britain.

Quoting German sources in Was[...] ton *The Observer*, London, says Bo[...] reportedly annoyed at the idea of b[...] ing deadlines forward.

The Bonn government is said to [...] worried this might create political d[...] culties for it, being taken as a sign [...] the United States was success[...] exerting pressure on its allies.

Deadlines are to be brought forw[...] to ensure that further demonstrati[...] do not jeopardise the stationing pla[...]

dp[...]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 December [...]

The German Tribune

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HOME AFFAIRS

Kohl wins his essential losing vote

Allgemeine Zeitung
MAINZER ANZEIGER

Chancellor Helmut Kohl has lost the no-confidence vote in the Bundes[...] that he needed to lose to clear the way for elections in March.

Now it is up to the President, Karl Carstens, to decide what to do. If he does what Kohl hopes, he will dissolve the Bundestag and set a polling date.

When he came to power, Kohl looked upon his term as Chancellor as a limited one, both in time and politically.

So he concentrated on taking action [on] the economy and in foreign policy.

The idea was to show what his course would be and then let the voters decide.

Even though a no-confidence vote [the] day after winning a sound majority [in] the budget debate seems curious, most people understand the tricky procedure required by Article 68 of the Constitution.

Opinion surveys show that 55 per [cent] agree with the no-confidence tactic, because it was the only way of dissolving the Bundestag and bringing about new elections.

Another aspect: 70 per cent favour parliamentary elections as soon as possible.

Only one in five says there is no rea[son] why the coalition should not serve out its term until autumn 1984.

The Chancellor most of the Bundes[ta]g and public opinion have now paved the way for new elections.

The ball is now with the President, who has three weeks in which to dissolve the Bundestag and set an election date as requested by Kohl.

SPD Chairman Willy Brandt rightly criticised in the Bundestag the fact that Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher had jumped the gun in September when they set 6 March as the election date it [wa]s the President's job.

Brandt's question whether the intention was to downgrade the President to [a] mere instrument of the coalition was exaggerated but not quite unfounded.

President Carstens has so far stayed aloof from the general discussion on this issue. It is known, however, that he, [an] expert in constitutional law, is extremely sensitive to attempts to undermine the President's authority. He does [no]t want it to operate merely as a rubber stamp.

When the Chancellor presented his request, the President simply answered: "Many thanks ... we'll stay in touch."

President Carstens has meanwhile announced that he will make his decision public in early January. It is doubtful, however, that he will accept 6 March as the election date because he might consider it important for his office to change at least the date to, say, 13 March.

The certainty of elections in spring [is] overshadowed by the uncertainty over their outcome.

The Green writing on the wall gives rise to fears that Hamburg and Hesse conditions could be transferred to Bonn.

The scepticism expressed in the British weekly *The Observer* is therefore quite warranted. The paper said that the Chancellor was taking a risk — hopefully calculated — with the country's stability.

Nobody knows whether the dramatic decline of the Liberals can be stopped sufficiently by March to assure Hans-Dietrich Genscher's party's return to the Bundestag and hence the continuation of the centre-right coalition.

The Chancellor seems unperturbed. His star is rising as fast as Helmut Schmidt's is dimming — a telling indicator of the fleetingness of political glory.

Only the Chancellor matters; the past one is forgotten — no matter what his merit. This could well serve as a reminder to Kohl.

The new chancellor staked everything on one card with the confidence vote in the Bundestag.

All will be well if the March elections return his coalition to government.

But it could also work out differently if the FDP finds itself replaced by the Greens in the Bundestag and if neither of the two big parties can form a government.

Kohl is well on his way, but he has not yet arrived.

Hermann Dexheimer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 18 December 1982)

The Andropov proposal

Continued from page 1

tor, the superpowers' preserve, in which parity exists. The other will be a Western European zone in which Moscow enjoys clear nuclear superiority.

So this threat potential will take effect in peacetime too, always assuming medium-range US missiles are not based in Europe.

That is precisely the idea behind Mr Andropov's proposal to limit the number of medium-range missiles in Europe to the ones installed by Britain and France.

There is one fairly obvious drawback. It is that the French nuclear deterrent is intended solely to protect France from nuclear attack.

The British deterrent is largely intended to protect Britain only, and not other Nato countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

Besides, the Anglo-French deterrent is not a serious counterweight to the Soviet potential, which is why the Soviet offer is unacceptable.

Sooner or later the Russians will have to nail their colours to the mast in Geneva and make it clear which target is more important for them.

They must either attach priority to forestalling missile modernisation by the West or prefer to maintain the potential threat to Western Europe posed by the SS-20.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 December 1982)

Hamburg SPD bounces back with absolute majority

The SPD has regained its absolute majority in the Hamburg assembly. It won back nine seats (64 compared with 55 in the old assembly) in the election in December while the CDU lost eight (48 compared with 56) and the Greens' representation was reduced from nine to eight. The FDP again failed to win a seat because it polled less than the crucial 5 per cent. The election was necessary because the previous election last June was indecisive. The SPD remained in office with 55 seats although the CDU was the biggest single party with 56. The Greens, with nine seats, held the balance of power, but chose not to use it. The SPD's share of the vote rose from 42.7 per cent to 51.3 per cent.

Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said the Hamburg election would be a test run for the national elections scheduled for March. He was right.

The electorate has reversed its former decision and raised an unexpected spectre for the Chancellor, Helmut Kohl.

But some points should be remembered: the SPD said the poll would be the first since the change in Bonn. But this is not quite right.

When the Hesse election was held in September, the Social-Liberal coalition in Bonn had already broken down and the new centre-right government was clearly about to take office.

In Hesse, too, the CDU suffered such heavy losses that it abandoned all hope of gaining the absolute majority and forming a government. As opposed to Hesse, the June election in Hamburg at least gave the CDU the biggest representation.

It was doubtful from the very beginning whether Hamburg's CDU would be able to hold this narrow majority. But the extent of its losses in December came as a real surprise. It seems that the novelty of Walther Leisler Kiep being at the top of the CDU ticket in Hamburg had worn off.

His stay in Hamburg is therefore likely to come to an end soon.

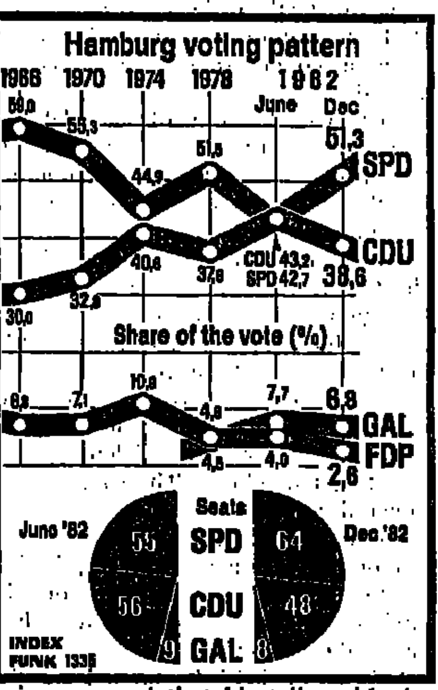
After the inconclusive June election, it was Leisler Kiep who demanded new elections. When some time later Hamburg's Social Democratic Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi also asked for new elections, Leisler Kiep changed his mind and refused.

The SPD ultimately succeeded in dissolving the assembly with the help of the Greens (GAL). The top CDU man in Hesse, Walter Wallmann, is bound to draw his conclusions from this for his own state when it comes to polling there.

Mayor von Dohnanyi's strategy of patiently negotiating for selective Green support on certain issues has clearly paid off. It was an uphill struggle for Dohnanyi who at the time had to overcome a great deal of resistance from his own party ranks over this alleged "Red-Green alliance" — not to mention CDU attacks.

The tactical disadvantages of such a course then seemed to outweigh the advantages. The SPD had more or less accepted the Greens as a potential partner, although before the June election it had said they would be totally disregarded.

The uncertainties within the SPD were effectively removed when Dohnanyi announced that his talks with the Greens had broken down.



Helmut Schmidt's active campaigning in Hamburg after he was toppled in Bonn was important in rallying SPD voters. So were some decisions by the new Bonn government, which were more unpopular in than elsewhere possibly because of the city's social structure.

The unusually high election turnout in itself was almost a guarantee of a Social Democratic victory.

SPD gains were not so much at the expense of the Greens as that of the Free Democrats. It seems evident that former Social-Liberal voters turned their backs on the FDP.

Even more surprising than the shift of FDP voters to the SPD is the fact that the Greens managed to stand their ground.

Dohnanyi's talks with the Greens were originally intended to win over some of their voters. He wanted to show that he was sympathetic towards many of their aims while demonstrating that Green officials were taking the wrong course.

None of this seems to have impressed the electorate. But Green hopes only a few weeks earlier that they could better their June results were dashed.

The SPD should ponder the fact that Green voters cannot easily be dissuaded from voting for their party — neither by wooing them nor by demonstrating understanding.

This means that in the national elections next year, the Greens remain a factor to be reckoned with. SPD chancellorship candidate Hans-Jochen Vogel might be able to corner some of the potential Green voters but the hard core will remain.

Nobody can as yet say whether that will be enough to enable the Greens to poll more than the five per cent needed to get into the Bundestag.

The same applies to the FDP. Their failure is likely, but not certain — especially if the conservatives decide to jump into the breach at the last moment by "lending" them some votes.

It would be a political joke if "Hamburg conditions" were to arise in the Bundestag after they have been remedied in Hamburg itself. Such a situation could not be as easily remedied by repeat elections for the Bundestag as has been done in Hamburg.

Hans Reiser

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 December 1982)

■ POLITICAL ASYLUM

Conundrum: fortune seeker or persecuted refugee?

The Bundestag has passed legislation to try and speed up political asylum procedures. There have been instances of applicants waiting up to eight years. The new laws have had a deterrent effect on potential asylum seekers, but the problem remains: how to tell the difference between genuine asylum seekers and people who come to Germany for economic reasons.

"I swear to you that I will leave your country the moment the Russians have pulled out of Afghanistan. Life here is hard and I don't have any news of my family," Ahmed, 24, tells the investigating official through an interpreter.

The official on the other side of the desk seems unimpressed. For him it is a foregone conclusion that Ahmed has invented his story.

The official is one of some 80 civil servants with the discretionary powers to approve or reject an application under the new law that came into force in the summer.

Applications are handled centrally by the Federal Office for the Recognition of Asylum Seekers in Zirndorf.

As it happens, Ahmed, who was asked to come for an interview, is an "old customer." He arrived in Germany in 1978 via East Berlin and instantly applied for asylum at the Administrative Court in Düsseldorf. The court turned down his application.

He managed to forestall the deportation order by filing a second application on the grounds that the situation in Afghanistan, his home country, had changed drastically.

"If I go back I'll be drafted into the Army; and the last thing I want to do is to shoot at my fellow-countrymen," argues Ahmed. But according to the official this is "irrelevant in terms of the asylum provisions."

Asked why he did not put forward this argument in previous applications in view of the fact that he was of military service age on his arrival in Germany, Ahmed shrugs his shoulders.

The interpreter, an Afghan who has lived in Germany for 13 years, explains to the official that Ahmed is a bit "primitive" and unable to express himself properly.

The official, Wolfgang Weickhardt, deputy head of the Zirndorf Office, concedes that interviewers have no way of judging "whether the interpreter is adding or subtracting something of what the interviewee has said, be it because he likes or because he dislikes the fellow."

In any event, Ahmed's application is turned down on the grounds that he is "unable to convince the authorities that he is a genuine political refugee."

Weickhardt: "Those who want to be recognised must have something to substantiate their cases."

Applicants from Afghanistan and Ethiopia stand some chance while those from Ghana, India and Pakistan are almost invariably assumed to be economically motivated.

Critics say sarcastically that the Zirndorf Office should actually be called the Federal Office for the Rejection of Refugees, considering that only 15 per cent of the applications are approved. The others are turned down because the applicants are unconvincing.

"Applicants keep presenting mimeographed letters from lawyers or forged arrest warrants you can buy at any news stand in Bangladesh. When this happens, we have no choice but to reject the application," says Weickhardt.

When an applicant presents Paul Stelkens, presiding judge at the Cologne Administrative Court (one of 23 courts dealing with appeals against rejected applications) with the original of an arrest warrant he knows right away that the piece of paper is faked because arrest warrants are always kept by the arresting officer.

Asylum seekers keep pointing to legal provisions in their home countries that don't apply. Take Jarel, a Pakistani. He told the Court that under Section 22 of Pakistan's Military Code he would face the death penalty if he returned home. When Judge Stelkens looked up the relevant section of the code he found that it simply defined larceny.

Another Pakistani claimed to have been a geography teacher at home. He was asked to pinpoint his home town on a map but was unable to do so, pointing instead to some place in Central India. Tough luck. Judge Stelkens is particularly sceptical about the many refugees who come from the small hamlet of Kharian in the state of Gujarat.

"It has always been impossible that the regime there should concentrate entirely on that one little spot. Today we know that this is the place where an 'asylum-for-sale' organisation with good contacts in West Berlin has its headquarters and, naturally, many of its customers."

For Cologne lawyer Paul Jochum there can be no doubt that there is much persecution in Pakistan, which the West regards as a bulwark against, Communism. He charges the Asylum Office with rejecting applications for political reasons, saying: "What does it matter if 5,000 or even 10,000 people are sacrificed!"

Judge Stelkens concedes that much of what goes on in Pakistan would not stand scrutiny. But, says he, "If all the rest of an applicant's story is a fabrication, why should I believe him when he says that he faces political persecution at home?"

Attorney Jochum admits that lawyers in some countries readily issue helpful affidavits for a consideration.

Asylum seekers cannot use as an argument conditions that arose after they left their home country. If they could, it would be only too easy to prove their credentials by taking part in a demonstration against their home country and thus being able to claim that they have been blacklisted.

Another aspect on which the Zirndorf Office has clamped down since the new legislation is that people who are assured of a haven in some other country are not recognised as political refugees here. This would apply to Afghanis, who are readily accepted in Pakistan.

But protagonists of a more liberal handling of our asylum provisions, like Paul Jochum, consider this wrong.

Under the new law, decisions are no longer made by a penal but by a senior official. It is generally agreed that, if nothing else, the new provisions have a deterrent effect on would-be asylum seekers.

Despite reservations by experts, cases that are handled by the courts are ruled on by a single judge rather than a panel -- and frequently that judge is totally unfamiliar with the Third World.

In cases where an applicant's story lacks credibility, the Foreign Office is often asked for information. Such information must be treated as evid[ence] der a ruling by the Federal Ad[ministra]tive Court) rather than a mere [...]tion. Amnesty International ha[s] objections to this procedure.

The human rights organisa[tion] also described the Bonn Forei[gn] description of the position in T[ur]ker the September 1980 militar[y] as a "mockery." The Forei[gn] contends that minorities tha[t] themselves threatened are no[t] ted by the authorities.

Insiders do not deny that [...]ments are highly questionabl[e] congress of the German Judici[ary] demy in Trier, Bonn's ambas[sador] Kuwait, Heinrich Wernsdörfer, revealing statement when he s[aid] the Foreign Office were to aff[irm] persecution exists in a coun[try it] would be tantamount to dow[...] that country. As a result, the [...] Office has no choice but to be [...]ly cautious in formulating infor[mation].

Besides, says Wolfgang Wei[ckhardt], diplomats are more familiar wi[th] tal parties than with the prison[ers of] host countries.

Judge Stelkens stresses, howe[ver,] the courts do not take every s[crap of in]formation from Bonn as Gospel.

He points to the fact that the [...] of courts dealing with such cases special section with newspaper documents and similar material back on.

The same applies to the Zirnd[orf Of]fice, where information from [...] countries is gathered and evalua[ted].

But the main objective seems [to] gather evidence against the [...] rather than material that will s[ubstan]tiate his case.

The collections also contain [...] provided by Amnesty Internatio[nal, re]ports by the refugee organisatio[ns] and expert opinions by the Orie[nt Insti]tute in Hamburg and the South A[sia In]stitute of Heidelberg University.

Occasionally, judges summon [...]

Continued on page 7

Torture to left-wing Kurds in Turkey is not political persecution, a court has ruled, in because torture is not confined to politically active Kurds. The Mannheim administrative court handed down this ruling after considering an application for political asylum from a Kurd. Torture and political asylum was the theme of a congress held by the Protestant Bad Boll Academy.

Toenails pulled out without fear or favour

Far from being a sedate meeting of experts and theoreticians, the Bad Boll congress developed into a heated debate involving all relevant parties: judges, international lawyers, UN human rights delegates, Church organisations, Amnesty International, Kurds, theologians and social workers.

The president of the Mannheim Administrative Court told the congress in a letter that he had simply done his duty towards his staff when he advised his judges not to attend meetings that could question their rulings in Court.

The Kassel Administrative Court was less reticent. One of its judges, Günter Renner, attended the meeting and explained the reasons for the Mannheim Court's much-criticised ruling.

The Kassel Court had handed down a similar ruling a year earlier. Here, too, the asylum applicant was a Kurd of Turkish nationality who had violated the Turkish Criminal Code and was subsequently tortured. The Kassel Court ruled that the torture was not politically motivated.

And since only the politically persecuted can claim asylum under Article 16 of the Constitution, the Kurd's application was turned down.

Judge Renner stressed that the reason for the torture plays a major role in the Court's decision.

Undemocratic countries have never been at a loss to find a criminal pretext for political persecution. Turkey, for instance, uses the notorious Sections 141 and 142 of the Criminal Code that provide for severe penalties for anybody who "organises groups aimed at repressing or weakening nationalism."

Many Kurds who even under the new Constitution are forbidden to speak their language and promote their culture are persecuted on the grounds of separatist activities, even if these activities are non-violent.

The delegate of Amnesty International rejected the idea that torture is relevant in terms of asylum legislation only if it is politically motivated.

Reinhard Marx, an asylum law expert, argued that "all torture is politically motivated because the country concerned degrades the people under its care to mere 'things' to be manipulated by the state." Yet Article 1 of th[e Ger]man Constitution guarantees the [invio]lability of human dignity. An [asylum] seeker threatened by torture a[t home] must therefore be recognised, he [main]tained.

Karlsruhe lawyer Gerd Mülle[r said] that it was dangerous and naive [to ass]ume that having an asylum appl[ication] turned down does not autom[atically] spell deportation to the home [country]. Since few asylum seekers can p[rovide] proof that they will be tortured [if] they go back home, most turned [down] applicants are automatically depo[rted].

Marx was not the only delegate [to in]terpret the rulings of the Courts i[n Kas]sel and Mannheim as the sympto[m of a] political change in the Federal Re[public] of Germany.

They contended that the const[itutio]nal right to asylum has been w[atered] down due to the acuteness of the [...] problem in this country.

They also maintained that the [rul]ings were motivated by not wan[ting to] step on a Nato partner's toes.

There were those who spoke [of a] change in the Constitution witho[ut] amendment.

The constitutional right to a[sylum,] some contended, has given way [to the] exigencies of day-to-day politics.

The Bad Boll meeting has a[t least] started a dialogue with those who[se de]cisions rule the destinies of people.

Bettina Wiesel[...]

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 Decembe[r 1982])

■ PEOPLE

Hannelore Kohl: 'the most important thing is a family that stays intact'

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Oggersheim is a staid suburb of Ludwigshafen, an industrial city [o]n the Rhine. It consists of simple de[ta]ched houses, pre-war vintage.

Marbacher Strasse, overlooking an [op]en stretch of greenery, is where peo[p]le who have made it in the past 15 [ye]ars live in Oggersheim.

The taxi-driver has to ask where No. [11] is. Since 1971 it has been the private [ad]dress of Helmut Kohl, then Prime Minister of the Rhineland-Palatinate, [n]ow Bonn Chancellor.

No. 11 is a modern flat-roofed bun[ga]low. The only striking feature about [th]e house is the green-uniformed police, [ar]med with sub-machine guns, who [pa]trol the grounds.

There is also a small concrete out[h]ouse, the guard room.

The housekeeper answers. She opens [th]e door and Frau Kohl, the Chancel[l]or's wife, promptly appears, looking as [co]ol and elegant as though she were [m]odelling for a fashion magazine.

She will be 50 on 7 March, the day [af]ter the planned general election, and [ow]ns up to her age.

"You can read anywhere how old I [a]m," she says. "I couldn't care less what [fig]ure comes before the zero." (An allu[sio]n, this, to the politicians' predilec[tio]n for figures and decimal points.)

She wears her blonde hair, medium-[le]ngth, naturally combed, and a dash of [m]ake-up makes her look a good few [ye]ars younger.

She looks as fresh as a daisy and not the least matronly or mutton dressed as lamb.

She makes no attempt to prevent in[qu]isitive reporters' eyes from searching-[ly t]aking in the three downstairs rooms [th]at lead into one another.

They are the study, the living room [a]nd the dining room, and we take the [op]portunity of inspecting them tho[ro]ughly.

There is a collection of valuable [ic]ons, modern graphic art, a hand-carv[ed] Madonna and Child from Poland, [an]d relief work from Venice, a corner [ful]l of pot plants and the bookshelves.

"By all means form an opinion of [you]r own about me," she says, "a sub[ject]ive one."

Before the interview begins she pops [int]o the oven the deep-frozen plum [cak]e she has at the ready to serve repor[ter]s.

Does she enjoy being in the limelight [an]d giving interviews? "It's not a matter [of] enjoying it," Frau Kohl says, "it's [par]t of the job."

A broad smile crosses her face. She is [us]ed to handling a wider public. "Even [if I] weren't married to the Chancellor I [wo]uld definitely be exactly the same [per]son who is sitting in front of you [no]w," she claims.

She accepts being regarded merely as [the] Chancellor's wife. She does so be[ca]use she sees it as a part of partner[sh]ip.

"Part of democracy as understood to[da]y is that many voters, and people [wh]o don't vote for that matter, are keen [to] get to know the Chancellor's [wi]fe."

Hannelore Renner (her maiden [na]me) was 15 when she made the ac[qu]aintance of 17-year-old schoolboy [He]lmut Kohl at dancing classes. But [the]ir paths parted for a while.

He studied history, law and political science. She would have liked to study too. Her father was an engineer, she was his only daughter.

She was born in Berlin, grew up in Saxony, moved to the Palatinate during the war and would have loved to study mathematics and physics.

But her father died just after the war and she had to earn a living. The fastest way to do so was via foreign languages, she says. She speaks French and English.

Helmut Kohl never lost sight of her. When the first home they planned together was built they married. She was 27, he was 30.

Organisation, discipline and control are the be-all and end-all, she says: "It's a learning process, a matter of maturity on the one hand and intelligence on the other. If you never make demands on yourself you will never get anywhere."

Her husband's career, from Prime Minister of the Rhineland-Palatinate and youngest head of government in the country to CDU leader and Shadow Chancellor, was tough training and always a challenge.

So she takes it a matter of course that she is to follow her husband to Bonn. The family will be moving in to the Chancellor's bungalow in Bonn as soon as it is ready.

But the family's Ludwigshafen home will not be abandoned. Son Peter, 17, is still a schoolboy and will stay there. Walter, 19, is currently a conscript.

Representative duties, foreign travel and helping people who ask her for it or who she feels need it are nothing new for Hannelore Kohl.

They have merely assumed fresh dimensions, she says. The same goes for her workload. She now has a provisional secretariat in the CDU leader's office on the ninth floor of the Konrad-Adenauer-Haus in Bonn.

There she handles her mail (any number of letters, begging letters, advice, good wishes) and organises appointments.

She cannot say just yet whether she will be specialising in any particular sector. First comes the removal, then the election campaign.

Frau Kohl does not claim to influence her husband. She has always tried to give him cover, to keep things in order, to relieve him of some of the more humdrum workload.

Let people call her a stay-at-home housewife. That is a cliché that doesn't upset her in the least.

"Of course I'm a good housewife," she says, "but that isn't what matters most. For me an intact family is more important."

It goes without saying that a politician's family life is a little different from his neighbours'. It is more compact, more compressed.

What hobbies does she have? Frau Kohl goes on to the defensive. "That," she says, "is not the sort of thing to go on to the general public about."



Hannelore Kohl ... 'If you never make demands on yourself, you never get anywhere.' (Photo: dpa)

Is she keen on gardening? No, she has never been keen on gardening. She feels working on the farm in the early post-war years, the potato harvest, probably put her off gardening once and for all.

She finally says: "I enjoy being with friends, but not all the time. I very much like having an hour's peace and quiet for myself to read what interests me."

She has been said to play the organ now and again and to go in for pistol-shooting.

"You know," says Hannelore Kohl, "so much is being written about me at the moment and I wouldn't like the last pleat in my skirt, as it were, to be highlighted.

"There have to be things that are mine alone, things that aren't in the newspaper. I'm just not prepared to go in for total exposure."

Sabine Reuter

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 December 1982)

Deputy Speaker rejected by constituency

The TV spotlights glare, making Annemarie Renger's face look pale as the chairman announces the result of the constituency selection committee's poll.

"For Comrade Jürgen Alef 88 votes," he says, and the rest of what he has to say is drowned in applause.

What it all means is that Frau Renger, Deputy Speaker of the Bonn Bundestag, has failed in her bid to be reselected as Social Democratic candidate for Neuss, near Düsseldorf.

In four previous general election campaigns she had been loyally backed by her constituency party. This time, by a narrow vote, they had preferred another candidate.

Many Social Democrats were taken by surprise. The sub-regional party conference had been "surprised to upset," local party official Franz Huppertz said the next day.

A couple of months beforehand it had seemed no more than a formality that Frau Renger would be challenged by another candidate.

Who, after all, was Jürgen Alef? Burgomaster of Dormagen, a sub-region committeeman and a sound candidate in the last two state assembly election campaigns.

Let him stand, by all means, but that did not mean by any stretch of the imagination that he would be selected. Besides, he was a left-winger, and Neuss was a predominantly conservative SPD area.

True, in Neuss as elsewhere there had been increasing dissatisfaction with



Annemarie Renger ... looking for safe place on the state list. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Bonn government policies toward the end of the Social and Free Democratic coalition.

Some of this dissatisfaction had been directed at Frau Renger, who had sought time and again to canvass understanding for coalition policies.

Even in defeat she kept a stiff upper lip. It had, she said, been a democratic decision she accepted even though she was unhappy with the result.

"All the best, son," she wished the winner.

Alef, an economist who works for an oil company and is rated a friend of the peace movement, is in many ways the exact opposite of Frau Renger.

She is a political scion of post-war SPD leader Kurt Schumacher and an advocate of the traditional values of German Social Democracy.

Only a year ago she upset SPD chairman Willy Brandt by collecting signatures in support of the controversial tenets on SPD identity drawn up by right-wing Social Democratic theorist Richard Löwenthal.

Herr Brandt was bound to feel the move was a bid to level criticism at him.

In Neuss Frau Renger was generally felt to have lost to her challenger mainly because she was too inflexible at her appearance before the selection committee.

That is very much in keeping with her character. She has never sacrificed her convictions for the sake of her career.

She worked as Kurt Schumacher's private secretary before being elected to the Bonn Bundestag in 1953 where she was long able to lay claim to the unofficial title of Miss Bundestag.

More seriously, from 1972 to 1976,

Continued on page 7

■ THE EEC

Agricultural surpluses hit record levels



1982 has been a record year for EEC agriculture. So once again the familiar mountains of surplus butter, grain, fruit and vegetables, plus lakes of wine, have appeared.

This is upsetting the Americans, because subsidised farm exports are making it difficult for American farmers to sell.

It is also costing the EEC a lot of money. It is likely to be difficult to pay for the Common Agricultural Policy.

The 1982 grain harvest was 125 million tonnes. The most than can be eaten in the EEC nations, by both two and four-legged consumers, is 100 million tonnes.

The apple crop was 7.6 million tonnes compared with 5 million in 1981.

Seldom have so many peaches, pears and plums been harvested as in 1982, while EEC vineyards reported a bumper 170 million hectolitres of wine.

Wine consumption in the 10 EEC countries is to rougly 135 million hectolitres a year.

The butter mountain mounted to a further 400,000 tonnes, partly because cows are giving more and more milk, on average 4,260 kg per cow per year, as against 4,160 kg in 1981.

The other reason for the butter mountain is that consumption is on the decline, while exports of EEC butter to the East bloc and the Middle East are dropping because foreign exchange is scarcer.

Dairy produce is the most serious problem facing Common Agricultural Policy, an EEC official admits. The European Community has to buy surplus butter at great expense.

It then has to store it at great expense, only to export it at great expense later, if it can find buyers in world markets.

The drawback of the CAP is that no farm produce from EEC countries can be sold unsubsidised in world markets because EEC price guarantees are higher than world market prices.

The European Community chips in the difference from its budget in order to sell surplus produce at all. This export reimbursement costs good money, especially for the major surplus commodities, butter and grain.

1982 was particularly disastrous because there were bumper harvests not only in Europe but also in the United States, Argentina and New Zealand, the EEC's main competitors in world markets.

With record harvests all over the world, market prices plummeted, leaving the difference to be reimbursed from EEC funds greater than ever.

Worse still, the surplus wine has to distilled, at the Common Market's expense, of course. So people are wondering how the EEC can possibly afford to pay.

"Agricultural expenditure will naturally increase next year," says a Brussels Eurocrat who is responsible for handling funds.

"But the framework of the EEC's own funds will not be exceeded."

In 1982 the EEC budget totalled DM51bn. Cash comes from two sources. Duties imposed on imports from non-EEC countries are paid into the Common Market kitty. So is up to one per cent of VAT revenue.

In 1982 value-added tax remitted to Brussels totalled 0.92 per cent of the respective national totals in the 10 EEC countries.

Many pundits feel the one per cent will fast be reached if the CAP continues to encourage surplus production. Someone must call a halt to the trend, but who in Brussels is to do so?

At the European Commission thought is at least being given to a reform of CAP. Quotas are to be imposed for a number of products.

They would mean farmers would be paid guaranteed prices up to a certain output level, and thereafter less or nothing at all (as is already the case with sugar).

Also, annual price increases are to be scaled down, the aim even being to gradually reduce price guarantees for products in chronic surplus.

Prices would thus be cut to bring them more into line with world market rates.

This is a step in the right direction and is recommended in the latest report by the scientific advisers to the Bonn Agriculture Ministry.

The Bonn pundits advocate annual cuts of up to three per cent in real agricultural prices. It sounds as though the EEC in Brussels has seen sense too.

The European Commission may not, at the time of writing, have published according to schedule its farm price proposals for the 1983/84 agricultural year.

But it is an open secret in Brussels that farm price guarantees are only expected to increase by about five per cent, as against an EEC inflation averaging over 10 per cent.

Even if moderation is observed in this department surpluses cannot be eliminated overnight, however.

So the EEC Commission also advises a shot in the arm for farm exports. This is an idea on which the French in particular are keen.

But the Americans are unlikely to accept any such idea. It is 20 years since they waged their legendary chicken war on the Common Market.

Subsidised EEC farm exports are increasingly making life difficult for US exporters in world markets, with the result that the Americans are starting to level stronger criticism at Europe.

They gave a clear warning at the Gatt conference in Geneva, where a member of the US delegation frankly said:

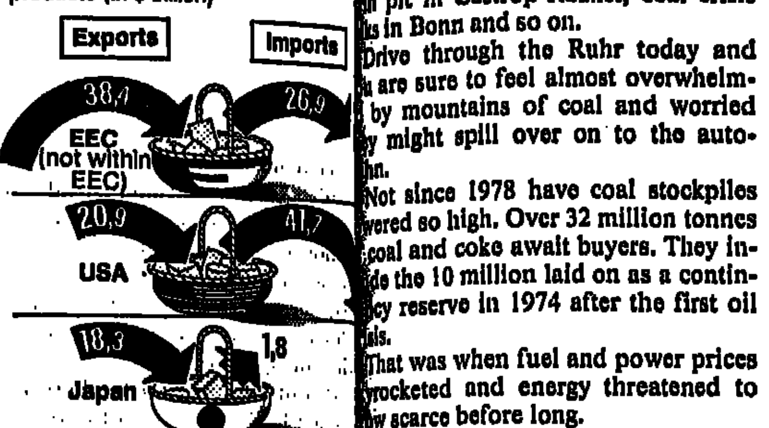
"We too can throw surpluses on to the world market. We have the grain, the butter *and* the cash."

US attacks on the EEC must be seen against the background of the most serious crisis American farmers have faced since the 1930s.

The US government cannot look on helplessly as US exporters are elbowed out of world markets by the Europeans.

The Americans may not subsidise their farm exports, but US farmers are given tax incentives and paid bonuses by the government.

The smoke has cleared from the first sorties in a transatlantic farm war. A



high-ranking US delegation led by retary of State Shultz flew to Br and agreed with EEC officials, ac ing to the communiqué, to jointly so and solve the problems.

So they should. If Europe and A ca were to try and undercut each out of world markets the Soviet U and its allies in Eastern Europe w certainly be laughing up their sleev

They are short of supplies and need to plug gaps by buying world market.

As for the Soviet Union, Bonn culture Minister Josef Ertl is on as having said, tongue in cheek, th Soviet planned economy would do agricultural policy a power of good

All we need to do, he said, is to duce socialism in the Common M and before we knew where we there would be a shortage of farm duce, not a surplus.

Wolfgang H

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 Decemb

Fed-up Euro MPs throw out supplementary budget

The Euro-Parliament wants a thorough reform of EEC finances. This is why it has thrown out a supplementary Euro-budget.

One of the 258 European MPs who voted against the budget was Hans-Joachim Seeler, of Hamburg (SPD). He says the European Assembly is no longer prepared in the long run to back the policy of the Council of Ministers.

The rebel MPs have grown sick and tired of the Community's constant financial compromises.

EEC governments had reached agreement on the details of the supplementary budget after long and difficult negotiations.

Euro-MPs have several times used their right to reject the Common Market budget. The EEC Commission in Brussels ought to have been warned.

Six months after the first direct elections to the European Assembly, MPs threw out the 1980 budget because its agricultural provisions were too expensive.

This plunged the Community into a serious financial crisis. A year later the Assembly decided on a big increase in regional development allocations for poorer areas.

Before member-governments had time to react, Mme Simone Veil of France, the Speaker, had given the revised budget the Assembly's approval.



Governments did not approve of the new-look budget but all that became of their disapproval was a protest from Brussels.

The 1982 budget was first referred to the courts. Belgium, France and Germany appealed to the European Court of Justice over a budget approved by the Euro-Parliament that was not to the Council of Ministers' liking.

After months of wrangling the appeal was withdrawn and agreement reached on a compromise.

But the European Assembly was not prepared to make any further compromises. An alliance of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Liberals, Gaullists and Italian Communists went on the warpath.

They expressed regret that the EEC Council of Ministers, in a 17-hour all-night session, had failed to "show a clear political will to deal once and for all with the problem of financial imbalance in the Community's budget estimates."

It was, says Dr Seeler, a demonstration of unity. Britain's MEPs were understandably reluctant to join with the protest and jeopardise DM2.6bn their country stood to from the Brussels budget.

Yet there was an overwhelming rity in favour of rejecting the su mentary budget even though Bonn stands to forfeit DM506m toward cost of energy projects.

The only idea that still stands chance of approval by the Strasb assembly is a supplementary b modified to include one of the MPs' key demands.

They insist that the proposed bursement of British contribution ward the cost of running the Com Market must be agreed to have made for the last time.

Despite the cut in funds for Bon German government is bound to a sympathetic view of the stand by the European Assembly.

Germany can but benefit from a of EEC finances. There are only two paymasters of the Common Ma Britain and Germany.

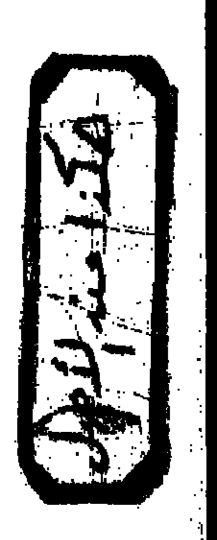
Both pay in more than they recei benefits. The other eight at least b even, and most benefit from EEC m bership.

Bonn's net payment into the EEC ty is roughly three times Whiteh This state of affairs has been o slightly by the European Assem ruling.

But in 1982, as in the past, Bonn have footed the lion's share of the of running the European Communit

Martin E. Lambe

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 17 December



■ INDUSTRY

Grim message in the coal mountains of the Ruhr

oal is back in the news, and it's mostly bad news, such as stock- at record levels, closure of the pit in Castrop-Rauxel, coal crisis in Bonn and so on.

Drive through the Ruhr today and are sure to feel almost overwhelm- by mountains of coal and worried might spill over on to the auto- hn.

Not since 1978 have coal stockpiles ered so high. Over 32 million tonnes coal and coke await buyers. They in- de the 10 million laid on as a contin- cy reserve in 1974 after the first oil is.

That was when fuel and power prices rocketed and energy threatened to w scarce before long.

Domestic coal was said to be the rock and guarantor of German ener- supplies, a viewpoint the industry taken good care to foster.

This time German coal has been af- cted later than in past periods of slack emand by the listless performance of e energy market.

Consumption of oil and gas declined bstantially in 1980 and 1981, whereas e domestic coal industry was not se- ously hit until 1982, when steelmakers arted ordering less and less coking al and coke.

This year, for the first time ever, more rman coal will be sold to power sta- ns than to German and foreign steel- akers, who made up the lion's share the market until 1981.

Sales to other EEC countries have en particularly hard hit. In 1982, for first time in the history of the Euro- n Coal and Steel Community, less n 10 million tonnes of coking coal d coke have been exported to Com- on Market countries.

German coal exports to EEC partners ve declined by roughly half. In 1974 9 million tonnes went to steelworks ewhere in the European Community, h as France.

In 1981 the total was a mere 12.8 mil- n tonnes. The steel crisis, not pricing, the main problem.

As a rule German pits have sold coal the same prices as those charged for ported coal from overseas or from e Eastern Bloc.

Terms negotiated with electricity sup- y corporations in 1980 have thus erged as a sheet anchor. They envis- an increase in sales to 45 or 50 mil- n tonnes a year by 1990.

That would mean about 10 million nes more than at present. In return, wer utilities were allowed to import re inexpensive coal from abroad.

They were denied this opportunity in the past because only limited quantities of coal imported from Poland, South Africa and the United States were allowed in duty-free.

Agreements have now been signed with the individual electricity corporations, so coal mines in the Ruhr, the Saar or the Aachen area can be sure of sales.

The same goes for the Preussag pits in Ibbenbüren, Westphalia. Most of their coal will fire the new power station that is to generate power for Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE).

Contracts have not yet been fully worked out and signed with either industrial power consumers or with the Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways.

Yet even the 1980 agreement has its drawbacks. While providing in principle for the mines to be paid at cost it bases the price to be paid for any given quantity on an extremely complicated equation.

Calculating the individual cost factors seems to be no less complicated. Last year capital costs proved a particularly thorny problem.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry and its experts based their estimates on a lower inflation rate and a longer annuity for plant and equipment than the mining industry did.

What that meant was that prices charged were too high and the industry had to repay more than DM500m to power utilities for 1981.

The power industry has emerged as a safe and valued customer for German coal, which now accounts for 27 per cent of domestic power output.

In the Ruhr, coal is expected to roughly maintain this stake until 1995, which, it is again agreed, will mean building an extra 10,000 megawatts of coal-fired power station capacity.

That in turn will mean 14 700-megawatt power station blocks, not to mention the many old power stations that will need replacing.

Thirty-four per cent of existing installed coal-fired power station capacity is over 20 years old.

For environmental reasons these facilities will need either converting or replacing. Coal industry executives are seriously worried by the acid rainfall that seems to be killing off entire forests.

The new atmospheric pollution regulations and the regulations governing large furnaces are not going to make it easier to fire coal with much of a sulphur count.

The third major sales market for coal is general and domestic heating. It includes both householders who still use coal fires or coal-fired central heating and industrial consumers who use coal to generate heat or process steam.

This general heating market slumped badly as oil and gas came to the fore, especially in the 1960s, and is the main reason why sales have plummeted.

In 1957, before inexpensive oil inundated the market, general heating accounted for German coal sales totalling 67.7 million tonnes.

By 1969 the figure was down to 32.8 million, by 1977 to less than 10 million and by 1981 to 7.8 million tonnes.

The cumulative sales decline in this sector alone, 60 million tonnes or so, corresponds to today's total sales of Ruhr coal.

German mining has shrunk over the past 20 years, accompanied by many pit closures in the Ruhr, social unrest, over 200,000 redundancies in the mining industry and mergers resulting in the setting up of Ruhrkohle AG, the Ruhr Coal Corporation.

In the process the coal industry has forfeited its commanding position in German energy supplies. But it has also cut back coal output to a basically saleable 80 to 90 million tonnes a year.

In 1982 coal sales have stabilised a little in the general sector, with a number of companies converting back to coal. But there has not been a major trend.

Companies are felt to lack the capital to make the investment. The low prices charged for heavy heating oil have also discouraged conversion.

At the latest round of coal talks in Bonn it was agreed that coal executives would embark on a fresh strategy to regain ground on the general market and further reduce the share held by oil and gas.

To refer to coal is also, nowadays, to think in terms of coal gasification or liquefaction, but the 1979 Bonn government programme to boost them on an industrial scale has made slow headway.

Initially, over 10 coal gasification projects were launched, but only a handful still benefit from government grants.

Gone is the euphoria that coal gas might some day soon play a significant part in energy supplies or as a raw material for the chemical industry.

The same is true of coal-based motor fuel.

Coal may have run up against sales problems for the moment, due mainly to the steel crisis, but it would be a serious mistake to neglect an industry so important for domestic energy supplies.

The energy industry in general, and coal mining in particular, need long-term perspectives in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Opening a new pit not only costs several billion marks; it also takes about 10 years. Building a coal-fired power station also takes five to seven years.

This long-term character is, basically, the most difficult problem coal faces. Manpower, capacity and investment have to be geared to it.

Small wonder there are tough disputes at present on whether pits need to be closed (even though everyone knows that a colliery with its complicated underground infrastructure, almost like a city's, cannot be switched on or off like an assembly line).

What is more, the general economic outlook is so gloomy that miners are working particularly hard. There is less absenteeism and shift output is up.

This too boosts coal production, with the result that in 1983, for the first time in many years, short shifts may need to be worked.

How much coal is going to be needed in any given year? That is the $64,000 question. A recent forecast has been made by Esso AG, hardly a company that can be expected to be unduly sympathetic toward the needs of German mining.

Coal's percentage of energy consumption in Germany, Esso says, could well increase from 21 per cent in 1981 to 27 per cent by the turn of the century.

Overall primary energy consumption is expected to increase by an average of less than one per cent per annum.

Yet that alone would mean that by the turn of the century coal consumption in the Federal Republic could be up to 126 million tonnes, as against 78 million in 1978 and a little over 80 million tonnes today.

The emphasis, Esso says, will be on power stations, piped heating and energy-intensive basic industries, with coal gasification and liquefaction limping well behind the field.

That would mean that with domestic output running flat out at about 90 million tonnes import quotas of up to 55 million tonnes a year from 1990 would not need to be used in full.

These quotas were set with a certain growth level in mind, but coal policy is badly in need of reappraisal.

There is no reason for it to forfeit the priority politicians, especially politicians from coal-mining areas, lay claim to for it.

But there is no reason to prematurely abandon all other serious proposals either.

Heinz Overberg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 December 1982)

Continued from page 4

ses such as media correspondents d Lufthansa personnel.

Comments Judge Steikens: ese people are bound to notice ething if there is an arrest wave un- way."

Even so, Mohammad Munir was re- tly deported after his asylum appli- ion had been rejected and was mptly arrested on arrival at Karachi port, says Munir's lawyer, Paul Jo- um.

Zirndorf officials and even the most ign of judges frequently succumb to danger of generalisation.

Here is how Hans Bernhard Ortner, sident of the Cologne Administra- e Court (recognition quota 3 per nt), describes the procedure: "We e a look at the country concerned d then ask ourselves whether the in- vidual story fits the conditions."

And what if it does not fit them?

"You need a lot of detailed knowledge. But once you have been lied to for months it can well happen that you don't believe the fellow whose story is actually true. You simply have to have a nose for problem cases," says Judge Steikens.

But what about those who have fled from hunger and despair rather than from a dictatorship and torture?

Says one judge: "There is one thing we cannot take into account: plain human suffering."

In one case where the Court rejected an application the summation read: "The Court is convinced that the applicant was motivated by economic reasons only; and economic reasons do not warrant political asylum. Hard though these conditions might be for the individual, they cannot be remedied by our asylum provisions. This is a task for development policy, aliens' legislation and employment policy."

Harald Biskup

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 December 1982)

Continued from page 5

when the SPD was the largest parliamentary party in Bonn, she was Speaker of the Bundestag, the only Social Democrat to have held the post.

She has not abandoned the struggle to hold on to a political future, especially one in the Bundestag. She now aims to get a safe place on the state list, and SPD leaders in North Rhine-Westphalia seem to be willing to back her.

That is easier said than done. The Lower Rhine region has adopted a conference decision that only constituency candidates should be included on the state list.

Düsseldorf Prime Minister Johannes Rau will now have to enter the fray on Frau Renger's behalf.

Originally she was allocated the No. 5 slot in the state list, but that was mere window-dressing as long as she had a safe constituency seat. Now everything is in a state of flux.

Reinhard Boeckh/Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 December 1982)

■ THIRD WORLD

Vital link between energy and development

The Bundestag economic cooperation committee's hearing on the relationship between energy and development policy dealt with a crucial economic problem.

The growing cost of energy has led to the developing countries' energy bill, which in 1973, at the time of the first oil crisis, made up 50 per cent of overall development aid, amounting to twice the development aid total in 1980.

This was due to a very limited extent to developing countries' energy consumption having increased as a result of industrialisation. Oil prices increased tenfold, whereas exports of the Third World's major export commodities have increased by a mere 150 per cent.

The upshot has been Third World debts totalling roughly $500bn and no hope of reducing their indebtedness in the foreseeable future.

Indebtedness will increase, and with it the risk of the international economic system breaking down, threshold countries defaulting on payments and the industrialised countries being dragged into the maelstrom in the wake of banks going to the wall.

So the unsolved energy issue as a main cause of international economic upsets is a matter of life and death not only for the developing countries but also for the industrialised world.

That was a point on which all the experts invited to attend the Bundestag hearing readily agreed. They had greater difficulty in agreeing on methods by which to arrive at an energy policy in keeping with development.

As seen by aid organisations what is needed is decentralised energy supplies that do not further intensify the polarisation between metropolitan and rural areas.

A decentralised supply, they argue, would contain the flight from the land and, in countries covering large areas, be less expensive than large-scale installations with a sophisticated and costly infrastructure by which to distribute the energy.

It was also emphasised that energy supplies are never merely a technical problem. An integrated approach is required to combat the firewood crisis by an afforestation programme that is accepted by the general public.

It is no use if newly planted forests are felled again in next to no time.

Decentralised energy supplies also call for integrated measures because suitable organisational facilities must be set up to operate and maintain decentralised installations.

This is not to rule out large-scale facilities in built-up areas or to generate industrial process heat.

It is merely to note that large-scale capital-intensive installations must be combined with decentralised units in order not to lead to social consequences that seriously exacerbate development problems.

Spokesmen for industry at the Bonn hearing advocated large-scale facilities because they alone were capable of generating power for industrialisation.

Ecologically they presented fewer problems than a large number of small-scale units too.

Representatives of companies in membership with the Solar Energy Association favoured decentralisation but called for greater efforts to put techniques to use in the developing countries.

The churches were asked by Bundestag members whether their opposite numbers in the Third World could be harnessed to boost training in the energy sector, especially in the development of renewable energy sources.

They were also requested to attach particularly high priority to decentralised energy projects in remote areas, projects aid organisations have found church aid applicants to show a growing interest in.

Controversy raged over whether small-scale nuclear power stations could be designed for developing countries that incorporated as much safety as larger units but relied on simpler means.

Two objections raised were that there would be a shortage of local personnel and nuclear power would make the raw material for atomic bombs universally available.

Representatives of economic research institutes said developing countries ought not to develop local alternatives to imported energy because they would definitely, apart perhaps from biogas units and the like, be more expensive.

MPs' queries raised doubts whether this was realistic, given that protectionism on the part of the industrialised countries made it more difficult for Third World states to export the goods they needed to earn foreign exchange with which to pay for energy imports.

Since the developing countries' potential for meeting their own energy requirements has yet to be determined, they would do well to look into the opportunities.

With or without foreign advice they ought to draw up energy plans to make it clear they are prepared to cooperate with the industrialised world.

An intriguing point was made by representatives of major German research facilities. They said the psychological potential for developing small-scale facilities based on adapted technology and relying mainly on local materials was greater in the developing world than in the industrialised countries.

In the latter, scientific research was carried out solely with a view to commercial exploitation. Research laboratories had no choice but to emphasise commercial viability unless they were government-run and in a position to pose "exotic" questions.

No answers were forthcoming on whether development policy and private enterprise might be able to join forces in sectors where industry is unable to go it alone because of the heavy costs in remote areas.

Yet aid organisations are not in a position to go it alone either in ensuring countrywide energy supplies.

The churches concluded by asking whether the industrialised countries' way of life could not be scale down to a less expensive level.

This could and ought then to be described as a contribution toward eking out oil reserves on behalf of the developing countries.

Klaus Lefringhausen

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 19 December 1982)



Bernd Dreesmann ... not just a d... rice. (Photo: Deutsche Welthu...)

Mr 111 and the campaign to combat hunger

People haven't left us in the lurch," says Bernd Dreesmann with a sigh of relief. Herr Dreesmann is general secretary of the German Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

More pre-Christmas donations than in 1981 were remitted to the campaign's bank account, but the total for 1981, DM26m, was unlikely to be equalled.

The fund-raising week held in October 1982 was the first in which the Freedom from Hunger Campaign suffered a serious financial setback.

Maybe it was because all eyes were on Bonn, where power was in the process of changing hands. The fund-raising appeal was certainly much less successful than had been hoped.

At the time of writing the campaign is still DM2m short of the total needed to fund its development projects.

It does not dole out ladles of rice, Herr Dreesmann explains. It lends a practical hand in rural development by promoting agricultural production, organising water supplies and launching craft activities.

So the Freedom from Hunger Campaign is more than a mere charity that issues a tax-deductible receipt in return for donations.

Many of its 200,000 donors, including many groups and organisations, are not content with just filling in a bank transfer.

They take part in developmen campaigns, especially bazaars at w goods are sold that are imported developing countries by the camp Third World Shop division.

The German Rural Women's A ciation has joined forces with the F dom from Hunger Campaign in s soring a development project on be of rural youth in Colombia.

The German Bakers' Associ sends its members donation box raise funds at baker's and conf nor's shops.

Bonn Economic Cooperation Mi ter Jürgen Warnke says the campai a "civic initiative against hunger was set up 20 years ago to work al side church and state organisations

It has made a name for itself by b ing useful projects and has bene from government development grants since 1970.

In many countries Herr Dreesma known as Mr 111 (the campaign's b account number) because its Ger name is so hard to pronounce.

Expenses and administrative c are kept in check, he says, and 96 cent of the cash donated goes to Third World's needy.

The 20th anniversary has not bee lebrated. Herr Dreesmann takes ca ensure that his personal approach i keeping with the aims of develop aid.

He has devoted himself to the since 1966. A lawyer by training, he worked as legal adviser to the Ger Development Aid Foundation, took over further duties for the fou tion.

He had previously worked as a tant to the Press secretary of W Hallstein, first president of the E Commission in Brussels.

He was keenly interested in inte tional relations while still a stud Herr Dreesmann has a seemingly in haustible supply of new ideas on to mobilise support for the T World. He is currently promoting third New Year fund-raising campa using the motto Bread not Fireworks

He has no compunction in taking fireworks trade to task. It irks him feel that at the year's end so much ney is burnt so fast.

Klaus Broichhause

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze für Deutschland, 21 December 1982)

ENERGY

Rocketing costs jeopardise nuclear reactor despite Bonn approval

he Bundestag has decided, despite reservations, to allow a fast breeder tor to be built at Kalkar, on the ne.

ut the project is still in doubt be e of the huge cost. Supporters of project are not happy because the ndestag has not made any provision ut these increasing costs.

he government expects industry to p pay. Bonn Research Minister inz Riesenhuber says it is now up to ustry to take the next step. He wants see the cheques coming in. In 1970, alkar was expected to cost DM500m. ow the estimate is DM6.5bn.

By the terms of the latest agreement th manufacturers and electricity sup ly corporations provision has only en made until next April for the cost f building the breeder.

By spring at the latest, industry must dicate whether it is seriously interest d in backing a project that has long rst all past financial bounds of atom energy.

Günther Theisen, business manager the project company, says the Minis s talks with industry will be labo us.

He can do no more than speculate on outcome. Extra costs totalling M1.7bn are at stake.

Herr Theisen endorsed a longstand industrial demand. Overall financ of the project must be assured if pri te enterprise is to increase its stake.

That can only mean that Bonn must dertake in advance to meet any fu e costs.

In 1972 the reactor was expected to taken into service in 1980. Construc on is now expected to be completed the end of 1985, but the first electric wer is not to be fed into the grid until rly in 1987.

During the 1970s the project scien ts and engineers have quietly drop d what must initially have been seen a cornerstone of the whole idea.

Kalkar as now planned will do a va ty of things but it will not breed sur s nuclear fuel. "It will almost pro ce its own fuel but there will be no plus," Herr Theisen says.

Yet that was to have been the crucial ture of the project. The fast breeder ctor uses fast neutrons to breed from sile uranium 238 more fissile pluto m than it needs to replenish its own cks.

The purpose of the SNR 300 (stand , in German, for fast sodium-cooled ctor) is for the time being merely to monstrate sodium technology, as rr Theisen puts it.

Breeder buffs were much more out oken in their advocacy of the new hnology a decade or so ago. Costs re always on the increase but it was d that they were an investment in the ure.

The breeder reactor would use ura um reserves up to 60 times more ef tively than conventional nuclear wer stations.

In the late 1970s Bundestag MPs re atedly asked whether the reactor uld exceed a breeder rating of 1; the ure had to be over 1 if the breeder s in fact to breed.

The last Bonn MP to table this query as Social Democrat Günter Jansen, who asked in October 1981 if the reactor was still expected to breed at a rate of 1.35 as forecast by breeder buff Wolf Häfele in 1969.

This was an astute question. In 1976 Häfele scaled down his expectations, saying Kalkar could not be expected to achieve a rating of more than 1.02 to 1.2.

Parliamentary state secretary Erwin Stahl, who answered the question, referred to a Research Ministry report that had noted in 1977 that the breeder rating for the first stage at Kalkar would be between 0.94 and 0.98.

In other words, it would definitely be below the crucial figure 1. Yet the public were not told that the breeder was no longer expected to breed.

How could skyrocketing costs then have been justified, not to mention technical hitches that occurred one after another?

The latest plan is for the prototype reactor to run for two years from 1987, until, in 1989, a decision is reached on whether or not to build a larger model, the SNR 2.

The project team sound a confident note and claim the Mk 2 will definitely breed surplus fissile material.

Yet even they now admit that a working breeder reactor will not be a commercial proposition before the turn of the century.

That comes surprisingly close to the forecast made by North Rhine-Westphalian Economic Affairs Minister Reimut Jochimsen, who together with Labour Minister Friedhelm Farthmann is responsible for planning permission.

The SNR 300, Professor Jochimsen has said, continues to be a research project but not a precursor of any clear prospect of commercial utilisation.

Before the Bundestag waived its planning permission reservations he critically commented that:

"The rapidly increasing rate at which costs are growing is a clear sign that we must learn from the project and that much remains to be learnt from it."

This was a restrained paraphrase of the findings of the Motor Columbus Study commissioned by Herr Riesenhuber's predecessor, Andreas von Bülow.

It was a Swiss survey of the project from the angles of safety, cost and management. The management and senior officials of the Research Ministry were found to have been guilty of serious mistakes and shortcomings.

Planning permission authorities in North Rhine-Westphalia were given what, in comparison, amounted to a fairly sound rating.

So Professor Jochimsen feels justified in continually referring to the report. He told the Bundestag he would resist any attempt "to paper over the serious technical and unsolved physical problems or to lay the blame solely at the door of the planning authorities."

There have been arguments as long as the project has been in progress as to who is to blame for inordinate delays and skyrocketing costs.

But no-one will deny any longer that Kalkar is not a marketable project. It will be only be an economic proposition when uranium prices increase drastically.

Then, but then only, would it benefit from making much better use of its uranium than conventional nuclear power stations and start to recoup its costs.

Uranium prices have for some time been on the decline. Far fewer nuclear reactors are being built around the world than the industry was expecting some years ago.

This is partly because of the recession and partly because forecasts of future demand have been revised in view of the likelihood that growth will not be as dynamic as anticipated.

As a result the demand for uranium has declined, and with it the price. Even breeder buffs would not go so far as to forecast a short-term change in the trend.

Research Minister Riesenhuber now plans to review the benefit of both Kalkar and the high-temperature reactor at Schmehausen in relation to their cost.

Decisions on finance and further construction work are not due until after the March general election.

Whoever is then at the head of the Ministry is going to find it hard to scrap either of the two reactor prototypes.

Kalkar in particular has been made out to be a prestige venture that industry has so far defended, verbally at least, as though it were a fundamental decision for or against atomic energy.

Those who criticised the project in the early 1970s have been vindicated even more than they themselves may have expected.

The experts vastly underestimated it and politicians in all parties accepted what they said. Heinz Riesenhuber nonetheless sounds a note of confidence — as yet.

Michael Brandt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 December 1982)

Atomic policy 'is economic nonsense'

Ecologists at a conference in Rastede, near Oldenburg, have described as economic nonsense the new Bonn government's plans to develop atomic energy without delay.

They agreed in rejecting the claim that scarcer and more expensive fossil fuels, such as coal, oil and gas, and growing demand for electric power made it essential to switch over to "less expensive" nuclear power.

The conference, attended by scientists from ecological research institutes all over the country, said this claim was made for propaganda effect.

It had been scientifically disproved even though many politicians still believed it.

In reality electric power consumption was no longer increasing to any great extent. The Opec countries were having difficulty in preventing a decline in oil prices.

In the wake of gas contracts with the Soviet Union the Federal Republic of Germany seemed sure to be well-supplied with natural gas for the next few decades.

Thirty-three million tonnes of coal were currently stockpiled in the Ruhr, which was twice as much as four years ago, and nuclear power was growing increasingly expensive.

Richard Ratka of the Energy and Environmental Research Institute, Heidelberg, referred to enormous surplus capacity that had accumulated in the power industry of late.

In 1981 available power station capacity had been about 40 per cent higher than consumption, and even if a reserve of, say, 20 per cent were felt to be advisable the surplus still amounted to roughly the total output of existing nuclear power stations.

That was why the electric power industry was so keen on cornering the heating market.

Klaus Traube, a former atomic energy executive who is now a lecturer at the Technical University, West Berlin, said that while the national product had increased by 17 per cent between 1973 and 1981, consumption of primary energy had declined by two per cent.

Investment in new techniques designed to improve energy utilisation had proved much more worthwhile than building new power stations.

Many people still felt that atomic energy was economically inevitable even though they were basically opposed to it because of the risk.

But that was a legend and only the power industry had a vested interest in ensuring that people continued to believe it.

Many politicians still clung to the legend too, he said, because they were reluctant to admit that long-haired opponents of atomic energy had been right all along.

Another speaker was Harald B. Schäfer, an SPD member of the Bonn Bundestag and chairman of the commission of enquiry into future atomic energy policy.

He said it was now definite that energy supplies could be ensured at the turn of the century without resorting to nuclear power.

Bonn had been ill-advised to earmark DM1.6bn for nuclear research in 1973 and not set aside a pfennig for research into alternative energy resources and supplies.

In 1977 the ratio of research allocations had been seven-to-one in favour of atomic energy, in 1980 three-to-one.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition had finally aimed at allocating research funds in roughly equal proportions.

The new government had cut to eight per cent in its budget estimates for 1983 the proportion of research funds earmarked for non-nuclear energy research.

Herr Schäfer held a face-to-face debate with the deputy leader of the Greens, an ecological party, in the Lower Saxon state assembly, Charlotte Garbe.

She was pessimistic about the possibility of opting out of nuclear power because industrial interests and their aides in the government machines were continually accomplishing *faits accomplis.*

He said the rethink must start in the trade unions, where opponents of atomic energy were still in many cases viewed as hostile to technology.

In reality what mattered was to decide which technology to favour. The unions would do well to realise the employment disadvantages of atomic energy.

Eckart Spoo

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 December 1982)

■ RESEARCH

Germans and Turks combine to unearth Anatolian 'quake secrets

Nearly two dozen geophysicists in Kiel, Frankfurt and Bonn are preparing for a major earthquake research and forecasting project in Turkey.

In Northern Anatolia, one of the most 'quake-prone areas in the world, the latest equipment is to be deployed in what, initially, is to be a five-year experiment.

The aim of the project is to learn more about the links between seismic activity and its precursos in the 'quake area. Scientists hope to be better able to predict when and where the next tremor of any magnitude may be expected.

A contract is being signed by the Turkish Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement and the University of Kiel and is due to come into force in the New Year.

Instruments and equipment, such as gravimeters, seismometers, terrestrial tide pendulums, laser range-finders and so on, are to be flown to Turkey next spring.

A computerised data centre is to be set up, with Turkey providing transport and accommodation facilities and Turkish geophysicists taking part in the measurement programme.

The project is being masterminded at Kiel, Frankfurt and Bonn University geophysics departments. Professor Jochen Zschau of Kiel is project manager.

Research scientists from elsewhere, including Austria, are to join forces in the assignment, the initial aim of which is not to get under control the Northern Anatolian 'quake zone, one of the most dangerous in the world.

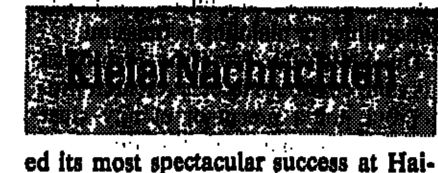
Basic research is the initial priority, and the project is backed by the DFG, Germany's Scientific Research Association.

If the findings live up to expectations 'quake forecasting will definitely be the winner, but it will be several years before anything definite can be said on that score.

'Quake forecasting has been tried out for a decade or more in many of the world's 'quake-prone countries.

In Japan it is, as it were, institutionalised. In the United States the San Andreas Divide in California, the fault that caused the 1905 earthquake that destroyed San Francisco, is under intensive observation.

In China 'quake forecasting register-



ed its most spectacular success at Haicheng in 1976 and its most spectacular failure in the 1976 Tanshan earthquake.

A wide range of pointers, mostly changes in the geophysical field or microseismic activity, are known to herald 'quakes in some cases but not in others.

The laws and links between these precursors and the actual outbreak are partly uncertain, partly unknown.

Seismic statistics, forecasting earthquakes to come on the basis of past frequency and magnitude in a given area, are another possibility.

But they are just as imprecise and just as little use in practice as the geophysical pointers because they give only a very vague idea of when the next 'quake may be expected.

Greater precision in forecasting, to be brought about by establishing connections in the bowels of the earth between the earthquake and its precursors, is one of the most important contributions geoscience can make toward preparations for disaster relief.

Geoscientists in Western Europe have so far played only a minor part in this work, so the large-scale West German experiment is a pioneer project.

It is being undertaken in an area that, from the scientific viewpoint, is virtually ideal.

The Northern Anatolian 'quake zone has regularly been the scene of serious to catastrophic earthquakes for over a century. It is an ideal proving ground for seismologists.

It is a kind of break, or fault, in the earth's crust. Geophysicist N. Pavoni of Zurich says it is a kind of hinge between Europe and the southern continental block.

"It is a hinge about 1,300km, or a little over 800 miles, long. For over 60 million years Europe and the southern continent have brushed against each other along this hinge.

Horizontally they have shifted 400km (250 miles) in relation to each other over this period.

This displacement continues, repeatedly causing earthquakes whenever the northern and southern sides of the hinge are snarled up and interrupt the sliding movement.

Tension is created, pent up and released in the form of a 'quake. That, as geophysicists today see it, is how earthquakes originate.

The epicentres of the constant seismic activity in northern Anatolia keep moving. The last major 'quake, at Erzincan on Boxing Day 1939, cost roughly 30,000 lives.

But 'quakes nonetheless concentrate on the western end of the fault, near the Sea of Marmara.

Since 1860 there have been 17 'quakes with a magnitude of five or more (five is the highest level of seismic activity, as far as is known, that is likely to occur in Germany).

Five 'quakes have had a magnitude of seven or more, which is so powerful as to be registered all over the world.

Statistically a serious 'quake occurs in this area every 15 years or so, although the last serious tremor before 1939 was in 1908.

The last major 'quake was in July 1967, so statistically another could occur any day now.

Yet even if it does not occur for some time the West German geophysicists, whose contract runs until 1987, should be on the spot to cover it and put their findings to good use.

In this western section of the Northern Anatolian Fault, about 150km (90 miles) east of Istanbul, an area for special observation is to be selected.

It will be an area of about 70 by 70 kilometres (40 by 40 miles) in which the scientists will concentrate their equipment and observations.

The area clearly testifies to the unrest down below. It consists of hills and mountains in vivid relief with numerous lakes.

Over the past few million years of the ice ages alone the ground along the fault has at some points been thrust 700 metres (2,300ft) up, while close by it has sunk 700 metres.

The area today is idyllic in landscape, with woods and fish-filled lakes. It is a recreation area for the Turks, which presents the scientists with problems.

In one experiment, for instance, they must trigger a series of small local tremors to check the speed at which the 'quake waves spread across the fault.

A working hypothesis used by 'q forecasters is that subterranean so waves ought to change or be attenu in frequency before an earthquake curs.

These local tremors are best trigg by detonating explosive charges i kes, but that is hardly possible be of the holidaymakers.

So project scientists are trying t hold of an extremely expensive ai pulse gun to trigger tremors in an ronmentally more satisfactory ma by means of atmospheric pressure ves under water.

A new process devised in Darmstadt and Bonn is based on o vation of the progress of the e tidal wave.

The earth's crust is constantly m by a tidal wave caused, like ocean t by the powers of attraction of su moon. This tidal wave travels round the globe.

Measurements in the Hunsrück near Frankfurt, where there is a deep geological fault, have shown the fault perceptibly impedes the gress of the tidal wave.

The fault must be visualised as a rift in the earth's crust filled with lo ly packed chunks of rock. It ofte lays the wave for several hours.

The earth's crust on the side of fault from which the wave appro rises as though it were a breaker o sea-shore.

On the other side of the fault earth subsides.

Professor Zschau says this break fect probably only occurs as long a rift is filled with loosely packed rub

Where a 'quake is in the offing the two sides of the fault are snarle as they head in opposite directions, rubble is temporarily bridged by the lid rock of the walls.

The earth's tidal wave ought in circumstances to cross a fault f than it normally would and wi creating the breaker effect.

Geophysicists hope to study thi fect more closely in northern Ana If they identify it they would do than prove, in a most convincing ner, the hypothesis that earthquake caused by faults being snarled up.

Scientists would also be better ab locate the epicentre of the next 'qua

The experiment will be launched large team of scientists, over 20 sc tists and student aides, about hal whom will come from Kiel.

They hope, as the years go by train a growing number of Tu geoscientists.

Wilhelm Denk

(Kieler Nachrichten, 16 December

WRITING

Ambivalent attitudes to the Good Man of Cologne

Cologne novelist Heinrich Böll, 65, was too ill on his birthday to ac t in person the freedom of his native .

t was an honour bestowed by Col e on the 1972 Nobel laureate reluc ly and in anger.

He has also been made an honorary fessor by his home state, North ne-Westphalia, but that is a formali hat need not amount to more than perwork.

t could only create difficulties if Böll self were to object to the reason gi in the citation, which reads:

"Professor Böll has practised in an emplary manner throughout his life e basic virtues of a professor."

Among the Second World War gene tion of intellectuals to which Böll be ngs a German professor was felt to be e epitome of cowardice.

Now he, of all people, has been nam a professor by the *Land* government. e Germans have always had difficulty honouring our great men.

Heinrich Heine is an example, a son neighbouring Düsseldorf, but this ticle is about Böll, Cologne, the ine, jokes on the banks of the river d dreams.

Böll was born on 21 December 1917. th his parents and grandparents were ologne people. His home town is a y in which:

"Secular power has never been taken lly seriously and ecclesiastical power s seriously than is generally felt to be e case in Germany" (from *Über mich bst*, 1958).

His father was a cabinetmaker and odcarver. Soon after the 1923 inflation the good years in Raderberg began; elder brother Alfred put it in *Bilder er deutschen Familie, Die Bölls*, l.

This was how the writer's brother scribed the years leading up to 1930 d the Depression, the year in which ir father's fair-sized firm went bankpt.

They no longer had a large detached me in the city's green belt, no childod luxury and no servants. The Bölls oved back to the city-centre.

They lived in rented apartments, but ways on the Rhine.

Böll saw as a crucial experience the lidarity shown by the family as their per middle-class world came apart at seams:

"Financial difficulties made us arrogant rather than humble, demanding t modest. We developed an arrogance t went to the point of hysteria, were volous and blasphemous toward institutions and people" (from *Was soll s dem Jungen bloß werden?* 1981).

Konrad Adenauer was mayor of the y from 1917 to 1933, both an individual and an institution. In the 1950s denauer was Bonn Chancellor and ll the German writer *par excellence.*

Is Böll's criticism of the Adenauer perhaps rooted irrationally in the iter's childhood and youth?

At the Böll's home in Raderberg, a uthern suburb of the city, there was a evailing sense of being on a higher cial plane than others.

"Never let beggars leave empty-handed," Böll's elder brother Alfred recalls ir father often saying.

Heinrich Böll himself remembers other children asking him for his sandwich at school; their fathers were out of work.

In the 1970s Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Lev Kopelev and many other individuals and institutions found for themselves that Böll's social conscience had changed for the better.

He gave them a new home and shared and shared alike with them. Kopelev dubbed him The Good Man of Cologne.

Cologne the secret queen is for Böll a myth, like Troy was for Homer, Rome for Virgil and Berlin for Döblin. In his poem *Köln I* he describes the city as the "dark mother."

In *Köln II* age-old Colonia is described in the following terms:

Über zerbrochenen Bischofsstäben / kocht sie ihr Süppchen / Material / Aus Tränen / Asche der Heiligen / Hurenblut / Bürgertalg / zermahlenem Domherrengebein.

(Over broken bishops' staffs/she cooks her broth/stuff/of tears/ash of the saints/whores' blood/bourgeois fat/ground canonical bones.)

This is the myth from which Böll's poetry emerges, firing his imagination. It is not the Cologne of a well-to-do bourgeois youngster but that of the ordinary people to whom the Bölls suddenly, unintentionally felt they belonged.

In *Was soll bloß aus dem Jungen werden?* he recalled that "at home we grew steadily less bourgeois."

Böll's Cologne is not the city of the Gothic cathedral that survived wartime bombing. It is the Cologne of the ill-treated Romanic churches: Severin, Georg, Gereon, Kunibert, Aposteln, Maria im Kapitol, Martin and so on.

His hard-hit Cologne is peopled with figures of his imagination, the returning soldiers, the war widows and orphans in *Wo warst du, Adam?* (1951), *Und sagte kein einziges Wort* (1953), *Haus ohne Hüter* (1954), *Das Brot der frühen Jahre* (1955) and *Billard um halb zehn* (1959).

In the Cologne of post-war reconstruction, the Adenauer era, Böll then portrays people who are ignored by the easy life and bourgeois affluence.

Ansichten eines Clowns (1963), *Ende einer Dienstfahrt* (1966) and *Gruppenbild mit Dame* (1971) come in this category.

Contemporary Cologne is characterised by extravagant living and human alienation, as in *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* (1974) and *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* (1979).

All these characters in his novels are to Böll "old faces" from whose folds he unravels their "lives" which he is thus acquainted with, as he puts it in *Stadt der alten Gesichter*, 1959.

Cologne has a wider range of old faces than just about any German city. They include Ubians from dim prehistory, Romans and Asiatics from the Ancient World, Jews from the early Middle Ages, princes and bishops, merchants and warriors, artists and scholars, tricksters and whores, patricians, and proletarians in the early modern era.

Heinrich Böll is the first writer to interpret these "venerable wrinkles." He is the first poet of Cologne in 2,000 years.



Heinrich Böll ... interpreter of venerable wrinkles. (Photo: Sven Simon)

He feels what has always gone on is a joke, like a lasting dream, but he too never tires of dreaming it.

He is a moralist who even feels Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, is an invitation to dream, as he puts it in *Was heißt hier konservativ?* 1981.

He accepts wild abuse when he appeals, as he did in 1972, for safe conduct and a public trial for the terrorist Ulrike Meinhof.

"Do you want," he asked at the time (and it was by no means merely a rhetorical question), "your free and democratic basic order to be more merciless than any feudal system in history in which there were at least sanctuaries, even for murderers and certainly for felons?"

Many contemporaries wanted nothing to do with a German who took Basic Law at face value, a Christian who

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Böll and the moral appeal to the reader

Heinrich Böll, 65, has been a German and a contemporary writer ever since he went into print. Nearly all his stories and novels are set in this century.

They are either narrated in the present or seen as having taken place in the recent past. Much though he has travelled, he has seldom dealt with other countries in his books.

Even in his Irish Diary he decidedly writes as a German who may be abroad but can still not shake off the past and present of his own country.

Memory is his muse. His entire oeuvre (narrative and essay, novel and polemics) is a bid to write against forgetting.

It is a moral appeal to his readers. Remember, don't forget what you yourselves have experienced, behave in a responsible manner!

The prerequisite for a truly human life, as Böll sees it, *Entfernung von der Truppe*, or going absent without leave, to quote a significant book title.

Breaking ranks from the marching columns, not wanting to march in step and a stubborn no to alien determination are an anarchist clue of thread throughout his work.

This refusal in a world of yes-men prevents him from becoming an unseeing fellow-traveller where he takes sides politically.

His scepticism is the scepticism of someone once bitten, twice shy. It is comprehensive, extending from Rome to Moscow, from Catholicism to Communism.

When, in Böll's books, people put in an appearance who represent a humane counterpart to the existing world, people who refuse to think solely in terms of profit and practise humanity, they often seem to be misfits in a society where people are judged by what they can do and what they possess.

They frequently seem to be mischief-makers, outcasts, outsiders. Their virtues include love and tenderness, mercy and friendship, a smile and courtesy.

In characters of his kind he demonstrates his bid to restore human dignity despite institutional influences. Let us call it conservative if we must.

Some of these thoughts are prompted by the Heinrich Böll Reader edited by his nephew, Viktor Böll, and published in paperback by Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich.

It is comprehensive, inexpensive and comes, 10 years after Böll was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, as his 30th book in the DTV imprint.

His major novels, from *Haus ohne Hüter* to *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, are all published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Cologne.

The reader includes, in chronological order, work covering a time-span of 35 years. It testifies to the astonishingly wide range Böll has.

It includes observations, essays, speeches, correspondence, travel notes, autobiography, poems, polemics, reviews, radio plays, prefaces and suffixes, political commentaries and glossings, evidence given in court, answers to surveys, open letters, obituaries and interviews.

It naturally includes short stories, such as *Der Mann mit den Messern* (1948), *Entfernung von der Truppe* (1964) and *Zündhölzer* (1982).

With few exceptions, including brief excerpts from novels, most texts are published unabridged. Some were previously unpublished, others not easily accessible.

So the reader contains plenty to interest the connoisseur, while for readers who are not well acquainted with Böll it is a splendid introduction to his work.

The reader in particular shows that Böll the writer has always been a contemporary inasmuch as his work reflects and contains critical reflections on social trends in the Federal Republic of Germany.

He does so not only in stories and novels but also in journalistic work in which he deals with day-to-day issues.

This has been resented by people who feel poets ought to write poetry and not to go in for politics. But they cannot have properly read or understood Böll the novelist and story-teller.

Otherwise they would be sure to have noticed that in Böll's work narration and political writing flow from one and the same root.

Böll himself stresses in his preface to the reader that he takes a dim view of drawing a distinction between narrative and essayistic, publicistic work.

His motto could well be a point made in his 1948 novel *Das Vermächtnis* (The Legacy), which was only published last year.

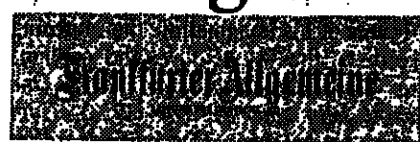
"We are born to remember," he wrote. "Not to forget but to remember is our duty."

Jürgen P. Wallmann

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 18 December 1982)

■ EXHIBITIONS

OKanada in West Berlin a big show for a big country




Voltaire, relying on hearsay, is reported to have said Canada consisted of a few square miles of snow that weren't worth the blood of a single soldier.

More than 200 years later the European view of what, after the Soviet Union, is the largest country in the world, has undergone a fundamental change.

Canada has become a favourite with people keen to emigrate. Today 180,000 Germans, making up 5.8 per cent of the population, live there.

It is a country that extends from the 45th parallel to the North Pole. In the wake of Expo '67 in Montreal a new historical awareness emerged.

"The 20th century," a leading Canadian politician proudly proclaimed, "is the century of Canada."

He may well have been right as far as his country's economic upswing was concerned. Culturally, as can be seen at the West Berlin Academy of Arts, much still remains to be done.

The Berlin exhibition is a most ambitious project entitled OKanada. It cost DM3m, shared equally by Canada and Germany.

It is a mixed bag of exhibitions, concerts, dance performances, poetry readings, film shows and other displays of the performing arts.

At the end of this king-sized programme, which is aimed at a general, not any special public, we shall know more about the efforts and partial successes that have been aimed at establishing a distinctive Canadian cultural identity.

It features three exhibitions on, respectively, Architecture in Canada since 1950, Contemporary Fine Arts and Canadian Historical Painting.

Of the three, the architectural exhibition is the most successful. Optically arranged in leporello fashion, it enables those who are interested to gain an overview in an hour or two.

The visitor is shown the Canadians' longing to own a house in the country, a house of their own with grounds they can walk round.

He is shown the trend to return to the depopulated cities, which are being made more habitable by means of underground car parks and air-conditioned shopping arcades.

Imaginative ideas for homes on steep hills, on windswept hilltops and deep in the woods are present.

Official ideas on urbane but functional buildings often lag behind the standards of the avant-garde in Europe and the United States.

Canada has recently taken to looking after historic monuments too.

If the selection on show is representative, Canada would seem not to have a contemporary style of its own in painting, sculpture and graphic art.

The finest and largest room in the Berlin Academy is dominated by the "structures" of three artists whose names are largely unknown in Europe.

Betty Goodwin, 60, has fitted out the room with such a wide range of heterogeneous examples of painting and sculpture that the viewer finds it impossible to believe it is all the work of one artist.

Her *Installation* is flanked by Max Dean's *Telephone Project,* which (if it ever reaches the stage at which if functions) will make up an acoustical room.

John Massey presents a film study of misunderstandings between a hitch-hiker and a truck driver. That ends the section headed Contemporary Canadian Art.

Neither Jean-Paul Riopelle, the informalist, nor Alex Colville, the hyperrealist, Canadian-born and famous the world over, are given a look in.

The section on Canadian Historical Painting was put together by a member of staff of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

The National Gallery, alongside major museums in Toronto and Montreal, loaned the lion's share of the material.

Eleven artists are featured, each having several works on show. They include Paul Kane, who painted Indians, Tom Thomson, the nature mystic, and Paul-Emilie Borduas, who made a name for himself in France as an automatist.

The suprise in the historical section is undoubtedly Emily Carr, who studied in Paris, exhibited her work in the Salon d'Automne and later went her own distinctive way.

Emily Carr dealt with the Indian cult and painted strongly emotion-laden canvases that looked at from a distance call to mind the landscape visions of America's Georgia O'Keeffe.

Only five of her works are on show in Berlin. That is much too few.

Camilla Blechen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 December 1982)

Emily Carr, 'Totem Mother,' Kitw[illegible] 1928.

Continued from page 11

measured the Church uncompromisingly in terms of the Christian message.

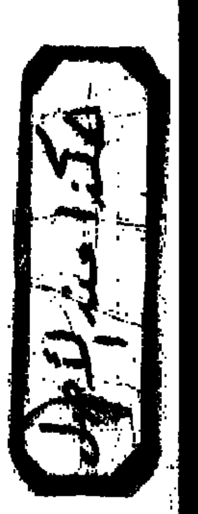
Many fellow-Christians felt uneasy about a man who cared about love of God and love of one's neighbour, about peace and justice in the world.

Böll himself is badly hurt by each and every outrage he suffers at the hand of democratic society and the Christian Community.

But he refuses to come to terms with the world of difference that can exist between expectations and reality.

He really must carry on dreaming and writing about how they may yet be reconciled. Otherwise we have virtually no-one left to tell us about it.

Karl-Jürgen Miesen
(Rheinische Post, 21 December 1982)



Capturing a touch of the savagery of New York

Kieler Nachrichten

New York Now, the exhibition at the Kestner-Gesellschaft in Hanover, is intended to convey the *Zeitgeist* complete with local colour of the Big Apple.

It features the largely savage studies and attitudes of the US art metropolis as seen in over 100 works by 25 artists of the younger and youngest generations.

Some of them are artists whose work has already been seen in Germany at Documenta in Kassel, Westkunst in Cologne and the Zeitgeist exhibition in Berlin.

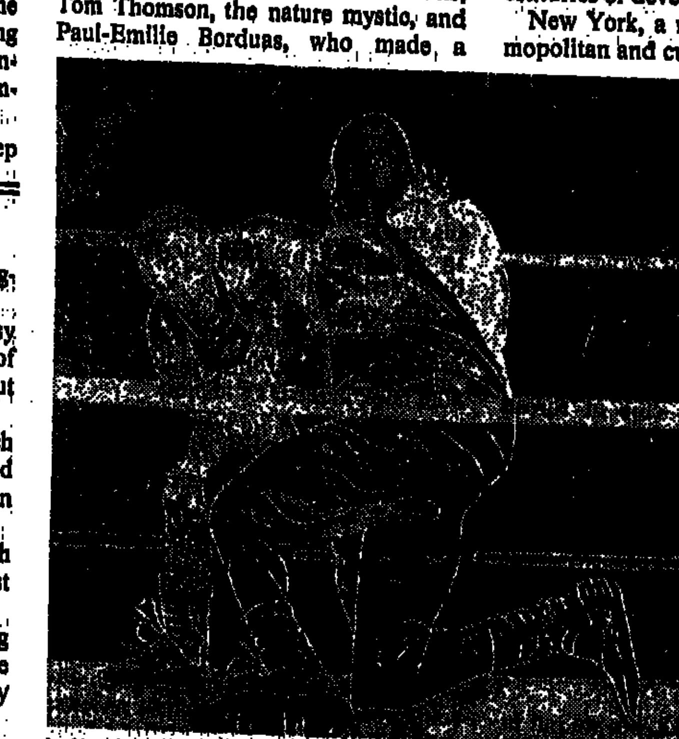
Others are here presented for the first time in Europe.

The Hanover gallery has carefully cultivated ties with the United States for some time. It held outstanding shows of art and artists of the 1960s and 1970s.

The latest gaily colourful guide to New York Now is consistent, keeps abreast of trends and also enriches the current stream of intensive, impetuous painting.

In present-day Germany the trend is clearly set by artists from the Federal Republic, from Italy and from Austria, all countries with tradition, history and centuries of development.

New York, a melting-pot of the cosmopolitan and cultural past, is a special starting point for a generation of painters who with unconcerned self-assurance make use of the historical facts. They spontaneously quote and paraphrase and parody. Kushner borrows from Matisse, Basquiat borrows from Dubuffet and Borofsky borrows from Frans Hals. All three serve as models for new work, but Borofsky is undoubtedly one of the most original and impressive artists featured. The way he deals with surfaces is characteristic, as is his spatial treatment of canvases. Where he opts for a three-dim[ensio]nal framework, others use the mo[st va]ried materials to heighten the in[tensity] of form and colour and to add th[e ma]terial consistency of composition [to the] visual impression.



In New York Now, Joseph Zucker's 'Ivan Koloff versus Executioner One', 1981. (Photos: Catalogue)

Zucker inserts the outlines in[to] fields of colour, which look like co[agulat]ed jelly, in the form of strips of c[otton] wool.

Judy Pfaff puts together collag[es of] weirdly cut textiles and paper to s[et] up explosive form combinations.

Africano paints in the manner o[f] Old Master grey-blue background[s]; gigantic canvases framed in gold form a ghastly scenery for a series o[f] Jekylls and Mr Hydes with a c[...] cape applied to the painting.

There are also contrasts such as between the candy-coloured plastic [fan]tasy of Lanigan-Schmidt's *Lonely [...]ker* and the pastel-coloured fresco [pain]tings by Schneemann.

Lanigan-Schmidt's fragile tow[er of] foil bears the hallmark of macabre [hu]mour and glitter aesthetics charac[teris]tic of the ornate edges of his icons.

Then there is McCollum's arr[ange]ment of wooden frames of differe[nt si]zes, painted over and containing [noth]ing but a black rectangle.

We see the constructive element [in the] approach to painting the savag[e] and impulsive nature of which is [per]ceptibly calculated, especially in [this] cross-section of the current New [York] art scene.

Its spontaneous coincidences [and] purported naïvete come at the end [of a] process marked by disputes with hi[sto]rical experience (of whatever k[ind]), with the objective presence of the [pre]sent and with form and colour.

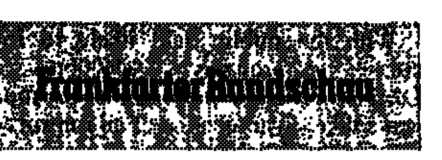
Ned Smyth's palm-tree pillars li[ning] the entrance to the New York ex[hibi]tion do not mark the way into a Ga[rden] of Eden.

We are happy to leave behind u[n]scathed this formal challenge and stop and look at, say, Bill Barre[tte's] *Pyramid Texts.*

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MEDICINE

New solutions sought as malaria bounces back on the attack



[P]rophylactic anti-malaria serum could mark a breakthrough in the [figh]t against this tropical scourge. But it [wou]ld take at least five years before one [wer]e developed.

[T]his would be followed by years of [clin]ical testing so there would be no se[rum] in general use until the year 2000, [say]s Dr Walter Warndorfer of the [Wo]rld Health Organisation (WHO).

[H]e was addressing a tropical medi[cin]e symposium organised by the [Ma]rburg-based Behringswerke drug [com]pany and held in Cairo.

[S]ome 20 laboratories in various parts [of] the world are now intensively working [on] a malaria serum. The successes of the [pa]st few years have been encouraging [b]ut no breakthrough has been achieved.

However, the experts in Cairo are [c]onfident that it will be possible to pro[gr]amme the human body through an in[je]ction in such a way that the malaria [ca]using plasmodium (a one cell orga[nis]m) will strike an intact defence sys[tem] in the body.

If researchers succeeded in their im[mu]nological work, it should be possible [to] provide similar defence mechanisms [aga]inst other tropical diseases as well [by] the end of this century.

[S]o far, all efforts by the World [He]alth Organisation to eradicate mala[ria] have failed. After initial successes, [th]e disease has returned with a ven[ge]ance.

Some countries, including India, were successful in combating the anopheles mosquito with DDT in the late 1950s. By 1966, malaria cases in India were down to about 40,000.

But this was followed by the banning of DDT in India and many other countries and a new rise in malaria.

By 1976, India had six million malaria cases. The world-wide estimate now is two million new cases a year.

There are also occasional occurrences of malaria in the Federal Republic of Germany, mostly due to tourists returning from the tropics.

The first symptoms frequently occur many weeks after a tourist has returned home and are mistakenly diagnosed as influenza, often with lethal consequences.

Malaria is carried by the female anopheles mosquito which injects the cause of the disease, the sporozoa, directly into the bloodstream. It takes the sporozoa only 30 minutes to reach the liver and start breeding.

This is the first stage, during which no symptoms are shown. Weeks later, when the sporozoa have matured into merozoites, they settle in the blood for further development, attacking the red corpuscles. There, they form more merozoites which are released in spurts from time to time. It is these spurts that cause the periodic fever attacks, complete with heavy sweating, anaemia and debility.

The reasons for the upsurge of malaria are obvious: the anopheles mosquito has won its survival fight against mankind. It is now immune to just about all pesticides and free to carry the disease.

To make matters worse, anti-malaria drugs are ineffective with many patients. As a result, experts expect the disease to spread dramatically in the next few years.

Naturally, the fight against the disease could be continued as in the past because industry is developing new insecticides and new anti-malaria drugs.

But the past has shown the dangers that lie in such an approach. Traces of DDT and other insecticides have already contaminated the fish of the oceans, desert animals and even the penguins in the Antarctic.

Other attempts by WHO to combat malaria by non-pollution means such as drying out swamps and sterilising male anopheles mosquitos have not been particularly successful. As a result, hopes now rest with new serums.

The Cairo meeting was told that researchers are working on two different serums that would interfere with the development cycle of the sporozoa.

One approach is to hit it the moment it enters the human bloodstream. By destroying the sporozoa at such an early stage, this serum would prevent liver damage because the sporozoa would never get that far. The disadvantage is that several injections would be needed.

Another group of researchers is working on a serum against the merozoites, the parasites' second generation that attacks the red blood corpuscles.

The serum material can now be grown without problems, marking a decisive step in the anti-malaria drive.

Until recently, scientists found it impossible to cultivate merozoites outside the human body.

As a result of this success, researchers are now well on their way to finding substances that will cause the human body to become immune to malaria.

A great deal of hope is also pinned on genetic engineering. It should be possible to produce other micro-organisms that would have the same immunising effect.

But until an effective serum is developed, travellers to the tropics will have to protect themselves with the prophylactic drugs now available. They must be taken several weeks before travelling and continued for a couple of weeks after returning.

Under no circumstances should tourists go to the tropics unprepared because this could cost them their lives — especially if their malaria is misdiagnosed as flu.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 December 1982)

A little fellow that likes the tough going

A newly discovered breed of bacteria, known under the generic term archaebacteria, thrives in the most hostile conditions. These relatively simple organisms that have no cell nucleus.

They love such environments as hot volcantic geysers, burning coal mounds and the heavy saline waters of the Dead Sea.

These archaebacteria — a third plane of living organisms below higher developed organisms and common bacteria — are likely to have been the pioneers that billions of years ago conquered a world hostile to life.

The archaebacteria were discovered a few years ago in hot sulphur springs on the seabed off the Italian island of Vulcano by Professor K. Stetter of Regensburg University.

The water in the springs was at boiling point, i. e. over 100 deg. C, without actually boiling due to hydrostatic pressure.

Since water at that temperature contains virtually no oxygen, the archaebacteria fall in the category of organisms that not only do not need but in fact avoid oxygen. Professor Stetter has meanwhile succeeded in cultivating these organisms under laboratory conditions.

The fatty lipids of the cell membrane and a special protein compound substantiate Professor Stetter's contention that this is a hitherto unknown type of archaebacterium.

The disc-like organisms have the usual diameter of bacteria, i. e. 0.3 to 0.5 micrometers.

Heavy enlargement reveals netlike links between the discs, 40 micrometers long but with a thickness of only 0.05

The most surprising thing about these micro-organisms is that they not only thrive in boiling water but in fact do not achieve optimal living conditions until temperatures reach 105 deg. C.

It is then that they split every two hours; at 100 deg. C. this rate is reduced by half and at 85 deg. C. it is five times slower.

Below 80 deg. C. their growth is suspended but they can survive several years at only 4 deg. C. when they go into something akin to hibernation.

The metabolism of the bacterium is every bit as unusual as its heat resistence. No explanation has yet been found for the fact that such sensitive cell components as nucleic acids, membranes and proteins that would normally be destroyed at such high temperatures continue to function in pyrodictium occultum.

The energy these organisms need to sustain life comes from the conversion of hydrogen and sulphur into sulphurated hydrogen. Their biomass is derived from carbon dioxide.

One of Professor Stetter's assistants had observed this type of metabolism earlier in Iceland in another type of bacterium that thrives in the heat.

The oxygen-sensitive, heat-resistant and hydrogen and sulphur-processing archaebacteria are geared to the conditions that prevailed on earth three to four billion years ago. The hot seabed springs off Italy seem to have provided them with a refuge that enabled them to escape competition from more "modern" forms of life.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 December 1981)

■ EDUCATION

The tight job market raises questions about vocational training

Do politicians, officials and pundits really know what they are talking about when they comment on the complicated connection between jobs and job training?

Time and again parents, teachers, instructors, careers guidance officers and young people themselves wonder, and their scepticism is heightened when they learn that:

● The Ifo institute in Munich and an industrial association have published forecasts on the demand for engineers in the 1980s that differ totally.

● The Kiel World Economy Institute forecasts that about 150,000 teachers will be out of work by 1990 (as against 30,000 now).

Yet it is not long since the president of the Rhineland-Palatinate teachers' training college made a serious claim to the contrary in a press release.

"Despite problems in finding a first appointment," he wrote, "the college recommends school-leavers from 1981 to study for qualification as an elementary and secondary school teacher."

Teaching, he added, was a promising career, and as chairman of the Standing Commission on University Study Reform he might be expected to know what he was talking about.

These are but two examples out of many. Together with some of the reform proposals put forward by educational policymakers they are largely responsible for uncertainty over the choice of career and career training and in respect of employment trends.

We would afford the luxury of mistaken forecasts and misguided reforms as long as labour market demand was flexible.

The demand was there. Cash was plentiful. The market accommodated virtually everything the educational system produced.

Graduates in business studies were retrained as teachers. Hairdressers were retrained as vulcanisers. Everyone stood a chance.

The position today is that public sector finances are in dire straits. The days when the state was able to provide jobs for 60 per cent of university graduates are long gone.

For the first time since the post-war economic recovery the persistent economic crisis had made serious inroads into the training facilities the private sector, especially artisan trades, are in a position to provide.

This shortage of cash and training facilities is compounded by the arrival on the job market of school-leaverss in the high birth-rate years of the mid-1960s.

No-one would be unduly surprised if the ongoing recession led to the number of unemployed youngsters under 20, of whom there were 180,000 this autumn, increasing to roughly 200,000.

No-one would be unduly surprised if the number of unemployed university graduates under 35 were to increase to 100,000 by winter next year!

At this of all times the third industrial revolution, the microchip revolution, is on the point of taking its full effect on employment trends.

The drastic changes heralded by microelectronics have long been reflected, via company investment considerations,

Erich Dauenhauer, who wrote this article for *Die Zeit*, is professor of economics at the Rhineland-Palatinate teachers' training college.

in staff recruitment and training policies.

Thousands of large and medium-sized firms are wondering whether they will need staff who have served a commercial apprenticeship in future in their accounts departments.

Might they not be able to make do with staff briefly trained to work at a computer terminal? This is a question an estimated 50 per cent of companies are currently mulling over.

The three main streams of vocational training, university, trades college and apprenticeship, are woefully ill-attuned to demand.

At present and in the near future they are and will be plying the labour market with wrong numbers of people unsuitably trained to meet requirements.

Those whose career qualifications are mainly scholastic (and they include over a million university students) are increasingly finding their job applications returned with a rejection slip.

"Not enough experience" is the explanation usually given, and since an increasing proportion of job trainees are going in for college and university, it will not be long before the market is inundated with unemployed graduates.

A cynical note is sounded when politicians seek to paper over this misguided trend by saying that the longer people learn the maturer their personalities become.

They are simply not prepared to come to terms with the fact that extra schooling to mark time, as it were, only imperfectly establishes a link between job training and employment.

In quantitative terms it cannot do so at all; it merely delay trainees' arrival on the labour market.

In qualitative terms it can only do so to a strictly limited extent. Exaggerated schooling fails to provide practical qualifications.

Financially the lean years have only just begun, with budgets being cut, for vocational training other than at work, i.e. at colleges or training centres run by chambers of commerce and industry.

With the public debt likely to increase to roughly DM600bn or DM700bn in the next three or four years there is no chance of an improvement in the situation.

The only way to lend an effective helping hand to the young is to gradually open the floodgates to the employment system at the point of take-off: at work.

In the medium term the likeliest prospect of improving the position is by a thorough rejig of vocational training:

● Apprentices' wages and trainees' salaries must be temporarily frozen. Apprenticeships are heavily in demand, and paying apprentices so well may be explainable in the context of collective bargaining but otherwise makes little sense.

High wages for apprentices merely cut the supply and reduce young people's prospects of learning a trade.

Firms are expected to train apprentices and to pay them much more than they earn for their employer. Who can wonder that companies are reluctant to hire them?

● Amendments must be made to vocational training and examination requirements. For years employers have complained that trainees learn too much book learning and too little in practical skills.

Training schemes are forcing companies to provide additional training better suited to their individual requirements.

This is an expensive and ineffectual state of affairs that leads to strange behaviour such as companies not keeping on even "A" grade apprentices they themselves have trained.

The management argue that the youngsters are highly skilled at passing examinations but no good on the production line.

● University education must be geared to market requirements. What has already been said applies in equal measure to the academic training sector.

The progressive system of pricing graduates too out of the market benefits no-one, least of all the students themselves.

University education is expensive. It badly needs rationalising in terms of costing and the qualifications it provides so as to cater for labour m… requirements at a reasonable price.

Instead, an inordinate number of … chers, lawyers, psychologists and … are produced regardless whether … openings are available.

● Special tax incentives would b… most courageous and probably the … effective move to be made in the … tion. Conbined with cuts in govern… expenditure, it need not even im… any further burden on the Excheq…

If employers were given a speci… incentive to help ease the pressure … hard-hit market in time of crisis … could be left to provide meaningfu… cational training.

They could take the place of the … which invests arbitrarily in voca… training because it is not under … pressure to cater for market req… ments.

This would have a twofold effect … young, and students, would be tr… with greater consideration for pra… needs and skills, and passage from … cation to employment would be ea…

People who are trained in close … tact with prospective employers … find it easier, for a variety of reaso… get a job on completing training. … applies to economics graduates, fo… juveniles and the handicapped in … measure.

Such proposals sure to be g… with cries of general indignation. … everyone will have to rethink if w… to come to terms with the difficulty … ahead.

The education authorities for … who would have to accustom them… ves to the idea that less can be ac… plished via taxation and regimentat…

The trade unions would need t… their sights lower at wage talks, … employers in both the public and … vate sectors would need to get us… the idea of training not only appren… but also students and the unskilled.

Last but not least, politicians mu… prevailed upon to scrap a round d… impediments and bans such as the … on training girls for building trades.

They must also steer a wide ber… such irritating proposals as the co… versial training levy.

We might then all hope with s… justification that the training m… would be better attuned to the la… market.

There would then be a reaso… chance of the ruinous competition … ween microchips and manpower b… eased in favour of the young, … would learn at work and not just f… textbooks what lay in store for the… their careers.

Erich Dauenha…

(Die Zeit, 10 December…)

Outbursts over planned cuts in student cash

Bonn government plans for swingeing cuts in student grants and conversion to loans instead have prompted more protest than any educational policy proposal in years.

Senior school and university students have lodged protests. So have parents. So have trade unions and universities.

The University Information System, a Hanover data bank jointly run by Bonn and the *Länder*, has taken a closer look at the effect of student grants on the progress of studies.

Grants, it concludes, have played a leading role in enabling children from social groups corresponding to what used to be called working-class families to attend university.

Students who qualified for grants, the survey said, had put the opportunity to good use, completing their course of study faster and more successfully as a rule than students who relied on other sources of finance.

The survey was based on a poll of students who completed their studies in 1979. It was carried out at 26 full and 21 quasi-universities all over the country in 1980.

Former students at full universities for the most part relied on allowances from their parents. Grants took second place, followed by part-time jobs.

At quasi-universities such as teacher training, technical colleges and similar specialised further education facilities, grants ranked first in importance, … lowed by parental allowances and e… ings from part-time jobs.

Drastic cuts in student grants w… hit students at training and tech… colleges particularly hard, the su… said.

If grants were scrapped, most of … tudents who relied on them would h… to work their way through college.

They would then either not go to … trouble or take much longer to fi… the course because of the pressure … work to make ends meet.

A closer look at social backgro… revealed that of students whose fat… had only the minimum educational q… lifications, students at full universi… that is, only 21 per cent relied ma… on parental allowances.

In this category 36 per cent of …

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MINORITIES

Germans in Soviet Union: 18th century dream turns to 20th century nightmare

DIE WELT

…ny foreigner who has settled here and wants to leave our empire is … to at any time," wrote Catherine II … Russia in her famous manifesto of 22 … ly 1763.

The manifesto was an invitation to … reigners to settle in Russia, and take … farming or go into commerce or in… stry.

The terms and conditions offered … re extremely favourable. Tens of … ousands of German peasants, mainly … m Hesse and south west Germany, … cepted the invitation.

For 30 years they did not have to pay … or do military service.

… o began the history of German sett… in Russia. Is it now coming to an … d?

Some 600,000 Germans lived along … shores of the Volga River at the be… ning of World War I; more than … 000 lived in the Crimea and the … ck Sea region.

Russia's more than 3,000 German vil… s grew rich because people work… hard and were given privileges by … crown.

But this did not save them from hosti… from others; it was the era of rising … onalism everywhere.

Just before and during the First … rld War, they came under suspicion … cting as a fifth column for the Ger… n Reich although they had proved … ir loyalty to the Russian crown over … ny generations.

Some of their privileges had already … n revoked several decades earlier, in … mid-19th century, including exemp… from military service.

The first decades of Soviet rule saw … establishment of the Autonomous … public of Volga Germans and territo… autonomy; but the price for the … l-to-do German farming community … enforced collectivisation and the … me's bid to eliminate the churches … he 1930s. Many died.

Although German language schools … e retained, German newspapers … lished and German theatres were al… ed to carry on, the atheistic regime … t on destroying independent farms … ained alien to the Germans: they … e always been under-represented in … Communist Party.

The actual disaster came only a few … ks after the German attack on the … iet Union in the Second World War. … bsurdly accusing the Germans of … laborating with the enemy, Stalin … them deported to Siberia and northern Kazakhstan in August and September 1941.

Many died during the long trek in railway cattlecars or on arrival at their detination where they were settled in camps under forced labour conditions.

The deportation involved about 400,000 Germans from the Volga Republic and several hundred thousand from the Black Sea.

The Volga Republic disappeared from the map and all German cultural institutions were liquidated from one day to the next.

But the rapid advance of the German troops initially saved some 300,000 Germans in the Ukraine and the Black Sea from being deported.

At war's end they trekked westward, though most were overtaken by the Red Army and transported.

The rescindment of the deportation order in 1955 and the political rehabilitation of the Germans in 1964 could not restore the destroyed family, village and church ties. Nor did the regime allow the destroyed cultural institutions to be rebuilt.

Though the decree issued by the Supreme Soviet on 29 August 1964 stated that the charges of collaboration that had been levelled at the ethnic Germans were "unfounded and attributable to Stalin's terror regime," the Germans were neither allowed to return to their old settlement areas nor were they given any compensation for lost property and the injustice done them by the state.

There was widespread disenchantment and disappointment. The Germans demanded that the Volga Republic be restored along with the cultural autonomy of the early days of the Soviet regime.

This drive was seen as being in keeping with Soviet ideology, and included many Communist Party members.

It was not until the late 1960s, when it became clear that the Soviet Union would not restore the autonomy of the Volga Germans, that the wish of individual Germans to leave the USSR developed into a mass movement. They wanted to return to their old homeland in Germany.

The 1970s saw the largest exodus of Germans from the Soviet Union under the communist regime. Some 66,000 Germans from Russia arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1972 and 1981. The number of those still wanting to emigrate is estimated at several hundred thousand.

The Soviet government has always rejected the enlightened principles of Catherine II.

The regime denies its citizens the right to leave their country as a matter of principle. The exemptions from this rule are very few and far between.

Like with the Jews in the Soviet Union, the only ground on which ethnic Germans can apply for an exit visa is family reunification. But it rests with Soviet bureaucracy to decide what exactly this means and what degree of kinship applies.

Exit visas for emigration to Germany reached their peak in 1976, when 9,000 were issued. The number has been declining steadily since then. In 1980, it was still 7,000, dwindling to slightly more than half that figure (3,800) in 1981. A further decline is likely.

The official Soviet version that fewer want to leave. That is untrue.

What is really at the root of it is the political decision to stop the exodus of Jews and Germans.

To achieve this, the always formidable bureaucratic hurdles have been raised still higher and new ones invented.

The battle for an exit visa begins with the application forms. Especially in rural areas, people wanting to leave are subjected to a long struggle with the authorities just to get the forms. Once they have obtained them, they are subjected to hostility by their fellow workers.

In a humiliating procedure, a staff meeting condemns the "renegado." Students are expelled from university and pressed into military service.

Starting this year, would-be emigrants have to provide an affidavit from their next-of-kin who wish to remain in the Soviet Union to the effect that they themselves will never apply for an exit visa.

Systematic chicanery — house searches, physical attacks by KGB stooges and anonymous death threats — has prevented many people from applying for an exit visa in the first place.

Those who go ahead nevertheless must expect to be turned down on their first application. Court sentences are even worse than the run-of-the-mill chicanery.

Five Germans wanting to emigrate were sentenced this year alone: Alexander Till, two-and-a-half years forced labour; Waldemar Reiser, two years. Erich Lafera, Wilhelm Benzel and Wilhelm Schwarzkopf received prison sentences.

The first two belong to a group of Novosibirsk Germans demanding equal rights for ethnic Germans. They also demand a memorial for the victims of the 1941-1955 deportations.

What has prompted the Soviet regime to tighten the screw and expose itself to international condemnation?

Ten years ago, the Soviet leadership under Brezhnev evidently thought that it was better to let a few restless Germans and Jews leave, arguing that the exodus drive would eventually settle of its own accord.

The opposite happened. Allowing a few people to turn their backs on Communism made a growing number of their compatriots wish to do the same.

Today, the Soviet government is evidently convinced that the swelling tide of would-be emigrants (it has spread to Armenians and many dissidents from the national republics) can only be stemmed by stepped-up repression.

There is also a foreign policy aspect involved inasmuch as the number of exit visas was a sign of détente — and those days are gone now.

Since the likelihood of legal emigration had dwindled to nil, some people are resorting to such desperate moves as the 7 November skyjacking to Turkey of a Soviet aircraft — a move nobody can condone.

It should not be overlooked, however, that not all Germans wish to leave the Soviet Union.

Though one group feels that national identity and personal fredom can only be achieved in Germany, the majority of the 1.9 million ethnic Germans have come to terms with the fact that they will one day succumb to the progressive assimilation process.

In the 1959 census, 75 per cent of the Germans gave German as their mother tongue, in 1979 this figure was down to 57 per cent.

The fact is that virtually no other ethnic group in the Soviet Union has become as Russified in terms of language and culture.

The fact that the ethnic Germans are geographically scattered, coupled with inadequate German instruction at school and very few German language cultural institutions, has made many of these people resign themselves to the process of Russification. This applies particularly to the younger generation. Only by going along with this process can these people hope for decent vocational training and social rise.

A new generation of Germans with vocational and university training is now developing in Central Asia and Western Siberia — the areas where most of today's ethnic Germans live.

But many of these young people have not stopped considering themselves as Germans despite their limited knowledge of the language.

The ethnic Germans will continue to exist as a group in the USSR in the foreseeable future.

What is more, the Germans in the Soviet Union are by far the largest ethnic group of Germans outside the two German states.

We should therefore know more about them and they should play a greater role in the public's consciousness.

Gerhard Simon

(Die Welt, 9 December 1982)

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… ts were able to rely on grants. At … si-universities the figures are even … e striking: 14 per cent relied on … ental allowances, 43 per cent on … nts.

Grants have evidently played a large … t in breaking down barriers and eas… access to university for children … ose parents might not normally be … ected to consider sending them to … versity.

About 50 per cent of full university … duates who relied mainly on grants … uld have been unable to study if the … nt facility had not been available.

Among quasi-university graduates … proportion was even higher.

When the yardstick of social background was applied, students whose fathers had only elementary educational qualifications were found to have been more likely to give up any idea of studying than those whose parents were themselves university graduates.

What would happen if grants were converted into loans, as 69 per cent of the population are said to favour, according to a poll commissioned by the Bonn Education Ministry?

The Hanover survey has no doubts on this point. "If the terms were changed to loans only," it says, "the idea of university study would be sure to lose much of its attraction for social groups who have lately begun to favour it." *dpa*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 15 December 1982)

Continued from page 11

Barrette has shaped monumental, strictly designed figures from sheets of paper and bark-like shreds mounted on large fleeces, all dyed in vegetable dye.

They are timeless ciphers containing a key to the past, colour in subtle nuance that reflect growth and decay.

New York Now comprises more aspects that 25 artists can convey. Only a few of the more recent trends are on show in Hanover.

Barrette's work is among the most convincing.

Gisela Burkamp

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 December 1982)